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SUBSISTENCE CULTIVATION IN THE CARIBBEAN¹

INTRODUCTION

Subsistence cultivation on small plots is a marked characteristic of rural life in the Caribbean islands, as it is in most areas in the American tropics. It closely resembles the subsistence cultivation systems of neighboring areas and has been classified as a subcategory of American tropical forest agriculture (Denevan 1980; Katz, Hediger & Valleroy 1974: 769). Yet its practitioners are not natives of the American tropics, but the descendants of Africans who often grew their own food and a small market surplus on the unused lands near the plantations on which they worked as slaves. These provision grounds were important in their adaptations to slavery and to the changes later brought by emancipation (Mintz & Hall 1960). That they are still an essential part of rural land use, economy, and household survival has been recognized in an abundant literature.²

Most of the studies in this literature are local and particular. Few attempt any intra-regional comparison or generalization (Hills & Iton 1982, 1983; Momsen 1972; Paquette 1968, 1982; Rashford 1982), and none attempt extra-regional comparison or systematic synthesis. This is surprising when we consider the synthesizing and explanatory efforts applied to some other important Afro-American cultural features with multi-cultural origins, such as religion or creole languages (e.g., Alleyne 1980; Bickerton 1975; Carrington *et al.* 1983; Simpson 1978; Taylor 1977).

This paper uses both intra-regional and extra-regional comparison to test a working hypothesis developed in the field. It asks whether a

characteristic subsistence cultivation system can be identified in the Antilles, what distinguishes it from tropical cultivation elsewhere in the Americas, and what the sources of these distinguishing features might be. The field research was aimed at discovering crops and gardening techniques that transcend environmental differences within the Antilles and that appear to be characteristic of Antillean gardens in diverse physical, social, and economic settings. The search for these crops and techniques was necessary precisely because the great range of physical and cultural conditions within so small a land area has led to many studies of Caribbean cultivation that imply purely local systems with local characteristics. From the field study we derived a complex of features that we use to organize the comparative data gleaned from the literature. Finally, we test the set of Antillean features synthesized from field data and literature against the subsistence cultivation systems described for other areas of the American tropics, and offer some explanations for the differences.

This method reverses the more common practice of deriving hypotheses from the literature and testing them in the field, yet its fitness and workability are clear. There exists no generalization or theory that might be tested in a particular locale; rather, we must use the particular locale as a laboratory and compare our results with the results of other particular research that has been done in the region. The generalizations that emerge may then be modified and supplemented by future field research.

FIELD STUDY IN MONTSERRAT AND BARBUDA

The field study of subsistence plots, crop assemblages, and cultivation techniques was carried out on Barbuda and Montserrat, two islands of the Leeward group that share a British colonial history but are otherwise quite different. These were chosen because together they present a range of the gross physical environments that are found in the island Caribbean, and because their economies, social structures, and histories contrast in important ways. They constitute a small-scale laboratory of the variety of conditions under which Caribbean subsistence gardeners work.

Barbuda, about 160.5 square kilometers in area, is a flat coral island with a high point of only 38 meters above sea level. The shallow soils are limited by factors of erosion, poor drainage, salinity, and stoniness (Vernon & Lang 1966). There are recurrent, long-term droughts during

which cultivation becomes difficult, though not impossible. The vegetation, almost all xerophytic, ranges from mesquite scrub with bare ground to evergreen scrub forest in areas secured from foraging livestock. Even in comparatively wet periods the average annual rainfall is only about 90 centimeters a year (Mather 1971: 30-31). No plantations thrived in Barbuda, and the landscape was shaped mainly by open-range grazing, wood-cutting for making charcoal and building boats, and shifting cultivation (Berleant-Schiller 1977a, 1977b, 1983).

No commercial agriculture has ever succeeded in disrupting the small plot system and its accompanying form of land tenure. Customary land tenure grants all Barbudans equal rights to the use of lands outside the village, and there are no individually owned plots, grazing grounds, or timber stands. Only houses, house plots, and fruit trees are individually owned. This tenure system, rooted in eighteenth-century land use, is correlated with low population density (9 per square km.) and physical conditions that favor shifting cultivation and unconfined grazing rather than permanent plots and paddocks. Today the population is about 1400, all of whom live in or around Codrington, the only village. Since emancipation, the traditional pursuits have been supplemented by small amounts of wage labor and by remittances from emigrants.

Montserrat, by contrast, is a mountainous volcanic island of 83 square kilometers, with a population of 11,000 at a density of 133 per square kilometer. For two hundred years, until the mid-nineteenth century, plantations and plantation slavery shaped its economy and society, although small plot cultivation has always existed (Pulsipher 1977). Three volcanic structures dominate the island, increasing in height from 300 meters in the north to 900 meters in the south. This topography encourages great physical diversity in a small area. Whereas the north is dry and sparsely covered with xerophytic vegetation, the high mountains just a few kilometers to the south support a rainforest. Between these two extremes there is a range of moisture conditions and plant communities.

Biotic variations among the Caribbean islands are linked both to their land use histories and to differences in moisture and topography. Subsistence cultivation, plantation agriculture, and stock-keeping have all marked the islands, whatever their size, terrain, and geologic origin. Increasing elevation is in general associated with increasing moisture and moisture-loving plant communities, yet only a few researchers have used this wet-dry, high-low continuum to explain or organize island differences, even though its usefulness in the Pacific

suggests Caribbean applications (Barrau 1965; Burrows 1956; Murphy 1949). Differences in physiography and humidity have been used to explain the presence or absence of plantations, and Bonham Richardson has shown the importance of highland and lowland adaptations in the nineteenth century (1984), but aside from the work of Charles Wright (1979), these physical differences do not figure in discussions of small plot cultivation. J.S. Beard's vegetation study classified the Caribbean climate into four categories that imply, but do not elaborate, a dry-humid contrast related to elevation (1949). Helmut Blume's standard geography tabulates the vegetation of the Antilles according to an elevation-moisture scheme consisting of the three major zones commonly used for Latin America (1974: 26, 44-48).

Our purposes were better served by four moisture-elevation zones, which we identified by the vegetation complexes surrounding garden plots.³ These zones were not intended to classify vegetation (see Beard 1949; Graham 1973; Harris 1965; Howard 1973; Loveless 1960; Watts 1966), but to serve as field indicators of moisture conditions and as devices for interpreting similarities and differences between gardens. Barbuda and Montserrat together include all four zones. We describe the basic vegetational features of these zones as simply as possible. A more complete and technical description of Caribbean moisture-elevation zones can be found in Blume (1974: 40-48).

Large areas of Barbuda and the extreme northern and southwestern areas of Montserrat fall into zone 1, the driest zone, characterized by a low thorn and cactus scrub. *Acacia* species and mesquite (*Prosopis chilensis*) dominate, accompanied by columnar cactus (*Lemaireocereus hystrix*) and, in Barbuda, dagger (century plant; *Agave karatto*), which colonize abandoned gardens. There are very few tall tree species except the occasional coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*). Zone 1 conditions occur in areas that lack orographic rainfall, or are exposed continuously to the drying tradewinds.

Zone 2 includes those places affected by recurrent periods of drought. The plant communities are complex and varied, and differences are related to soils, land use history, and location in relation to sea winds and rain shadow. In Montserrat, open grassland is the characteristic vegetation, with a few tall tree species in low places that are shielded from wind and that receive slope drainage. Elsewhere, especially in karst areas, xerophytic scrub forest is the diagnostic vegetation, as in Barbuda, where turpentine (*Bursera* sp.) and loblolly (*Pisonia* sp.) are common. Some of the trees may be non-native economic trees, such as tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*), mango (*Mangifera*

indica), and breadfruit (*Artocarpus communis*). The dryness of zone 2 may be a consequence of location in a rain shadow or along the fringe of orographic rainfall. On the windward sides of many islands the combination of sea wind and sparse tree cover encourages high evaporation rates. In Montserrat, zone 2 lies between 150 and 180 meters above sea level. In Barbuda, a few swampy areas and some areas protected from grazing show the features of zone 2, but the rest of the island is zone 1.

In zone 3, moisture deficiency is only an occasional problem. Orographic rainfall supports a lush cover of tall trees, epiphytes, shrubs, vines, and grasses. The silk-cotton tree (*Ceiba pentandra*), elephant grass (*Pennisetum purpureum*), and various Araceae, especially many *Philodendron* species, are characteristic. There are also abundant breadfruit (*Artocarpus communis*), cashew (*Anacardium occidentale*), and mango (*Mangifera indica*) trees. Organic detritus from the heavy vegetation protects soil moisture, plant roots anchor the soil, and leaf canopies inhibit both erosion and evaporation. The tall trees and surrounding hills shelter gardens from drying winds, and air descending from the higher slopes holds moisture that retards evapotranspiration. Droughts occasionally affect crops, but do not usually kill well-established trees and the plant communities they protect. Zone 3 lies between 215 and 335 meters on leeward slopes in Montserrat. On windward slopes it is higher. The range of zone 3 can be altered by forest clearing.

Zone 4 occupies leeward slopes above 335 meters and windward slopes above 460 meters, where there is ample orographic rainfall and where clouds enveloping high peaks supply additional moisture. The many-canopied tropical rainforest is the natural vegetation, and many species of the American humid tropics are found here, but tree ferns (various Cyatheaceae) are always diagnostic.

In order to derive a working hypothesis with which to approach the literature, we studied fourteen subsistence plots distributed along these four zones in the two islands. These plots were not a statistical sample of all plots, but a series of plots in ascending elevations that met the following criteria:

1. They are subsistence gardens designed for and essential to the household economy, supplying the major portion of its food and sometimes allotting minor space to a cash crop.⁴
2. They are worked by household labor only.

3. They are not kitchen gardens in the sense of small plots meant to supply special cooking needs and to receive special attention.
4. They include all of the crops found in neighbouring gardens that met the foregoing criteria and that were surveyed but not studied in detail.

We concentrated on crops and gardening techniques, excluding questions of productivity and yield. Our object was to discover whether a core of common elements in seemingly diverse gardens would transcend the physical differences of moisture and topography on the one hand, and the differences in social structure, history, and population density between the two islands on the other. We found a core of common elements and associated clusters of features. Testing these against the literature suggested modifications and new bases for distinguishing the Antillean system from the cultivation systems of adjacent tropical regions.

Table 1 lists all of the crops grown in the study plots at the time we inventoried them. These are not of course all of the crops grown in Antillean subsistence gardens, nor even all of the crops grown in the study gardens, which we did not observe over a full year of continuous planting and harvesting. Table 1 also shows the number of zones in which each crop occurred. Table 2 lists gardening techniques derived from observation of the plots and from gardeners at work. Almost all of the crops and techniques listed on these tables are found elsewhere in the American tropics. Our task now, therefore, is to discover whether any complex of these is particularly characteristic of the Antilles, or whether any individual features mark Antillean gardens in a distinctive way.

Table 1 shows that seven crops were found in every zone: banana/plantain (*Musa paradisiaca*), maize (*Zea mays*), beans of the *Phaseolus* species, pigeon peas (*Cajanus cajan* or *Cajanus indicus*), squash/pumpkin (*Cucurbita* sp.), sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), and yam (*Dioscorea* sp.). We also discovered that four of these seven crops occupied major allotments of space in every garden: maize, beans, pigeon peas, and sweet potatoes. In fact these four crops were, along with two banana trees, the only crops in one Barbudan garden observed at the end of a twenty-year drought, which suggests that they may constitute a minimum survival complex in drought-prone areas. The environmental range of this seven-crop complex suggested to us that it be tested as a Caribbean island cultural commonality and regional complex of core crops.

Table 2 shows that 30 out of a total of 36 techniques are used in all four zones. This distribution suggests that the techniques of subsistence cultivation are mostly independent of physical and social environment, and that small variations are probably related to local and individual factors. The fact that these techniques are all found elsewhere in the American tropics also suggests that any non-crop features that distinguish Antillean gardens must come in characteristic clusters or must be discovered by methods other than observing gardens and gardeners. This issue, as well as the question of a regional complex of core crops, is taken up in the following section.

The appendix to this paper documents the ways that the features listed in Tables 1 and 2 are incorporated into living gardens. It includes a description of one garden in each of zone, three garden maps, and, in Table 4, a comparative summary of some basic garden features.

COMPARISON AND INTERPRETATION

Of all the studies of Caribbean food gardens, surprisingly few proved useful for our comparative purposes. One problem was the diversity of their goals and methods. Yankey's study of Dominican small plot cultivation, for example, includes no complete crop lists; it concentrates, rather, on factors such as farm size, farm tenure, and the economic and demographic characteristics of farmers (1973). His statistical analyses are potentially very useful, but few researchers provide comparable information. Further, where we sought analyses of intercropping and the spatial arrangement of plots, such as those provided by Rashford (1982) and Brierley (1974), we often found judgmental descriptions of plots as "haphazard," with no "proper systems of plant spacings" (Yankey 1973: 186).

Besides disparate perceptions and methods, we found a babel of common names, a disregard for scientific names, muddled crop classifications (e.g., "squash, melons, and pineapples"), failure to distinguish between similar food plants (such as *Colocasia* and *Xanthosoma*, or different leguminous genera), and the absence of information on the relative importance of crops. Nor have studies been done in a representative range of islands. Nevertheless, using both cultivation studies and studies with other emphases that included cultivation information, we were able to assemble information from the Greater and Lesser Antilles, from volcanic and coral islands, and from higher, wetter and lower, drier environments. The following comparison of our field data

TABLE 1. CROP LIST SHOWING CORE CROPS AND MAJOR CORE CROPS

| Crop List Showing Core Crops and Major Core Crops | | Map Code | Zone Occurrence | | | | Number of Zones in which Crop Occurs | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------|--------|--------|--|---|---|---|
| | | | Zone 1 | Zone 2 | Zone 3 | Zone 4 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Coconut | <i>Cocos nucifera</i> | Cc | | x | x | | | | x | |
| Mango | <i>Mangifera indica</i> | Mg | | x | x | | | | x | |
| Breadfruit | <i>Artocarpus communis</i> | Br | | x | x | | | | x | |
| Sugar apple | <i>Annona squamosa</i> | Sa | | x | | | | | | x |
| Soursop | <i>Annona muricata</i> | Ss | x | x | | | | | x | |
| Cashew | <i>Anacardium occidentale</i> | Cw | x | x | | | | | x | |
| Lime | <i>Citrus aurantifolia</i> | Li | x | x | | | | | x | |
| Orange | <i>Citrus sp.</i> | Or | x | x | | | | | x | |
| Guava | <i>Psidium guajava</i> | Gv | | x | | | | | | x |
| Genip | <i>Melicococcus bijugatus</i> | Gp | x | | | | | | | x |
| Avocado | <i>Persea americana</i> | Av | | x | x | | | | x | |
| Cocoa | <i>Theobroma cacao</i> | Co | | | x | | | | | x |
| Banana; | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plaintain | <i>Musa paradisiaca</i> | * Ba | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| Sugar cane | <i>Saccharum officinarum</i> | Sc | | x | x | | | | x | |
| Guinea grass | <i>Panicum maximum</i> | Gg | | x | x | | | | x | |
| Sorrel | <i>Rumex acetosa</i> | So | | | x | | | | | x |
| Maize | <i>Zea mays</i> | §* M | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| Okra | <i>Hibiscus esculentus</i> | Ok | | x | | x | | | x | |
| Hot pepper | <i>Capsicum frutescens</i> | Hp | | | x | x | | | x | |
| Sweet pepper | <i>C. frutescens grossum</i> | Sp | | x | | | | | | x |
| Tomato | <i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i> | To | | | x | | | | | x |
| Eggplant | <i>Solanum melongena</i> | Ep | | x | | | | | | x |

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|--|---------------------------------|----|-------------|-----------------|----|----|----|--|---|----|----|
| Cabbage | <i>Brassica oleracea</i> | | Cb | | x | x | | | | x | |
| Bean | <i>Phaseolus</i> sp. | §* | Ph | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| Groundnut | <i>Arachis hypogoea</i> | | Gn | x | x | x | | | x | | |
| Pigeon Pea | <i>Cajanus cajan</i> | §* | Pp | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| Blackeyed pea | <i>Pisum sativum</i> | | By | | | | x | | | | x |
| Pumpkin; | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Squash | <i>Cucurbita</i> sp. | * | Pk | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| Watermelon | <i>Citrullus vulgaris</i> | | Me | x | | | | | | | x |
| Cucumber | <i>Cucumis sativus</i> | | Cu | | | x | x | | | x | |
| Arrowroot | <i>Maranta arundinacea</i> | | At | | | x | | | | | x |
| Cassava | <i>Manihot esculenta</i> | | C | | x | x | | | | x | |
| Sweet potato | <i>Ipomoea batatas</i> | §* | Sw | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| Tania | <i>Xanthosoma saggitifolium</i> | | Ta | | x | x | x | | x | | |
| Dasheen | <i>Colocasia esculenta</i> | | D | | x | | x | | | x | |
| Tout-les-mois | <i>Canna edulis</i> | | T | | x | x | x | | x | | |
| Shallot | <i>Allium ascalonicum</i> | | Sh | | | | x | | | | x |
| Yam | <i>Dioscorea</i> sp. | * | Y | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| Cotton | <i>Gossypium barbadense</i> | | Ct | | x | x | | | | x | |
| Total number of crops: | | | | 14 | 29 | 25 | 15 | 7 | 3 | 17 | 12 |

* Core Complex: crops found in every study plot in each zone: banana, maize, bean, pigeon pea, pumpkin, sweet potato, yam.

§ Major Core Crop: crops of the Core Complex occupying major space in every study plot in each zone: maize, bean, pigeon pea, sweet potato.

|| Cash crop planted among subsistence crops.

TABLE 2. TECHNIQUES

| Technique List | Zone Occurrence | | | | Number of Zones in which Technique Occurs | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|--------|--------|--------|---|---|---|---|
| | Zone 1 | Zone 2 | Zone 3 | Zone 4 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Plot Arrangement | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Sections or patches | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 2. intercropping | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 3. border plants | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 4. trees on plot | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 5. use of natural features | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 6. fencing | x | | | | | | | x |
| 7. fallow areas in plot | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| Land and Moisture Management | | | | | | | | |
| 8. moving soil (mounding and ridging) | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 9. mulching (green) | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 10. mulching (soil) | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 11. land rotation (fallowing) | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 12. crop rotation | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 13. burning | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 14. fertilizing | x | x | x | | | x | | |
| 15. addition of water | | x | x | | | | x | |
| Wind Management | | | | | | | | |
| 16. live windbreaks | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 17. plant placement | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 18. plot placement | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| Weed Management | | | | | | | | |
| 19. removing | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 20. ignoring | x | x | x | x | x | | | |

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| Technique List | Zone Occurrence | | | | Number of Zones in which Technique Occurs | | | |
|--|-----------------|--------|--------|--------|---|---|---|---|
| | Zone 1 | Zone 2 | Zone 3 | Zone 4 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 21. using Livestock (part of system) | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 22. food or sale (fowl, pigs, rabbits, cattle, goats, sheep); burden (horse, donkey) | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 23. tethering on fallow | x | x | x | | | x | | |
| Tools | | | | | | | | |
| 24. cutlass, hoe, fire | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 25. fork and mattock | | x | | | | | | x |
| Labor Supply | | | | | | | | |
| 26. Household only | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| Planting and Harvesting Techniques | | | | | | | | |
| 27. dibbling | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 28. hoeing | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 29. continuous harvesting | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 30. seeds saved | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 31. cuttings saved | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 32. surplus planting | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 33. ground storage | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 34. occasional small-scale cash cropping | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| 35. continuous planting | | x | x | x | | x | | |
| 36. strategic plant placement | x | x | x | x | x | | | |
| Total techniques and strategies 36 | 33 | 35 | 34 | 31 | 30 | 3 | 1 | 2 |

with the data we gleaned from the literature bespeaks an Antillean sub-system of tropical American subsistence cultivation.

Of the writers cited, Momsen, Rashford, and Hills & Iton recognize such a system. Hills & Iton identify twenty crops and a complex of techniques with spatial and temporal persistence in the region. Their twenty crops include our seven core crops, and the complex of techniques they identify as particularly Caribbean contributed to our own formulation (1982: 2-5). Rashford recognizes a Caribbean system constituted from aboriginal, African, and colonial sources (1982: 87). His list of crops grown by tenant farmers, whose assemblage is distinguished from that of owners by the absence of all trees except *Musa* (compare the zone 4 rented garden described in the appendix), includes the seven core crops, but does not indicate their relative importance (308-22). Momsen's study of the gardens of Barbados, St. Lucia, and Martinique includes no inventories of crops or techniques, but argues that a common structure emerges from factor analysis of survey information (1982). Her approach is quite different from our own, yet it yields the same conclusion of common structure in three disparate islands.

Table 3, derived from crop lists, garden maps, garden descriptions, and less systematic mentions of important crops in the literature, confirms in general the core complex that emerged from our field study, but suggests some important modifications. The first concerns cassava, also called manioc (*Manihot esculenta*). Table 3 indicates that cassava should be added to the core complex. The literature does not permit us to distinguish between bitter and sweet, if such a distinction can truly be made (Sturtevant 1969), but one or both are found on every island listed in the table. It is ubiquitous in the islands rather than dominant in most plots, and its use is probably declining, as the preparation of cassava flour is a lengthy process (*cf.* Kreiselman 1958: 130). On Montserrat today only a few people prepare cassava bread as a Christmas specialty, but in the seventeenth century Montserrat supplied cassava bread for the British fleet and army in the Leeward Islands (Rawlinson Ms. 1656: 426). It is also grown in Barbudan dooryard gardens, although it did not appear in our study plots, but the processing equipment for the bitter type has almost disappeared from the island. (For a general discussion of cassava in the Antilles, see Sturtevant 1969.)

The second change involves *Xanthosoma* and *Colocasia*, which may be regarded as complementary partners. Observers frequently merge or confuse them, but where moisture permits, *Colocasia* will be grown

TABLE 3. CORE CROPS IN THE CARIBBEAN ISLANDS

| Island | | Pigeon pea | Sweet potato | Yam | Maize | Phase- olus | Musa | Cucur- bit | Cassava | Xantho- soma | Colo- casia | Sources and data rating* |
|---|-----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----|-------|----------------|------|---------------|---------|-----------------|----------------|--|
| Lower drier | Barbados | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | | \$ | | \$ | | \$ | Handler 1964 [2] |
| | Bequia | \$ | \$ | | \$ | | | | \$ | | | Adams 1976 [2] |
| | Carriacou | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | | | | \$ | † | † | Richardson 1975 [3] Smith 1962 [3] |
| | Caymans | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | Buchler 1963 [2] |
| | St. Maarten | \$ | \$ | \$ | c | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | Keur & Keur 1960 [2] |
| Higher wetter (may have dry leeward coast) | Dominica | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | Layng 1983[3] Myers 1985 [2] |
| | Grenada | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | Brierley 1973 [1] |
| | Martinique | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | | \$ | \$ | \$ | Horowitz 1967 [2] Kreiselman 1958 [3] |
| | Nevis | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | Merrill 1958 [2] Richardson 1983 [3] |
| | Providencia | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | | | Wilson 1973 [3] |
| | St. Kitts | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | Mills 1974 [1] |
| Mixed | Guadeloupe | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | | Hoy 1961 [1] |
| | Hispaniola: Haiti | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | Herskovits 1971 [2] Wood 1973 [1] |
| | Hispaniola: Dominican Republic | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | | Werge 1975 [1] |
| | Jamaica | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | Rashford 1982[1] |
| | Puerto Rico | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | | \$ | \$ | \$ | Doerr 1955 [1] Beischlag 1955 [1] Naley 1955 [1] |
| | Tobago | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | Niddrie 1961[1] |
| | Trinidad | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | Herskovits & Herskovits 1947[2] |

Crops considered by sources cited to be important are marked by \$.

*Data rating: [1] - source cited is specifically concerned with cultivation; crops identified by scientific names; work includes detailed lists, maps, descriptions. [2] - focus on gardens is part of larger work, or shorter paper on gardens excludes scientific and descriptive detail. [3] - Crops are mentioned in work on different subject.

c. Omitted in source(s) consulted. || Imported. † Not specified but probably included in root crops.

as well as *Xanthosoma*. Table 3 shows that neither is reported for three of the eighteen islands. Of these, Providencia may be a case of incomplete reporting by an observer primarily interested in other things (Wilson 1973), while Bequia imports the two roots as necessary foods (Adams 1976), and both Carriacou and Bequia are in a state of economic decline (Adams 1976; Richardson 1975). Nevertheless, the widespread distribution of the two crops in a range of islands and their high incidence of occurrence argue for their inclusion in the core complex at least provisionally. Research in the Caribbean on the distribution and uses of these two genera, clearly differentiated, would be most useful.

The third change concerns the cucurbits, whose absence from six islands argues for their removal from the core complex. All of the remaining crops are reported present in at least fifteen islands that include a range of wet and dry, high and low conditions. We propose, therefore, a modified core complex consisting of maize, pigeon peas, sweet potatoes, *Phaseolus* species, yams, *Musa* species, cassava, and the *Xanthosoma-Colocasia* pair.

Next we must consider the major core complex, those four crops we hypothesized to be the basic reliable complex under the most difficult physical, social, or economic conditions. Of the four original candidates (sweet potatoes, *Phaseolus*, pigeon peas, and maize), the sweet potato and the pigeon pea are reported present on every island listed in Table 3. *Phaseolus* is missing from three, among them the hard-pressed Bequia and Carriacou, and should perhaps be set aside from the major group until further research. Maize is not reported from St. Maarten, but one absence does not diminish the significance of its otherwise widespread occurrence under all conditions.⁵ Cassava, on the other hand, should be included in the major group as it is still important to every island on Table 3, even though it does not always occupy the most space and may be declining in use. The modified major core complex, then, comprises pigeon peas, maize, sweet potatoes, and cassava. The basic importance of this group is specifically corroborated: Niddrie (1961: 35) lists these four as a basic dry complex in Tobago, and Doerr (1955) groups them with beans as a "major subsistence complex" in the semiarid areas of southwest Puerto Rico.

No studies supplied lists of plot management and cultivation techniques that could be compared with Table 2. We did, however, assemble a set of practices that, as a complex, distinguishes Antillean gardening, even though some of the individual elements are found elsewhere in tropical America. Hills & Iton (1982) propose a set of uniform regional techniques consisting of nutrient supply, intercropping, a crop-live-

stock combination, drainage, soil management, and the use of pigeon peas on garden borders. Mills (1974: 72) proposes continuous harvest, hoeing into banks, intercropping, tethering animals on fallow, and swiddening.

Of these, the pigeon pea border and the tethering of animals on fallow appear to be particular to the Antilles. Several writers have noticed the special place of domestic animals in Antillean gardens (Brierley 1974: 142-43; Handler 1964: 234-40; Richardson 1975; Rubenstein 1975: 165; Wright 1979: 10; Werge 1975: 64; Yankey 1969: 201). The integration of livestock is characteristic of gardens everywhere in Latin America, but outside the Antilles the pens are rotated through the plot, and dung is hand carried (Denevan 1980: 230). In the Antilles the tethering on fallow supplements these techniques. Few outsiders have observed the significance of the pigeon pea in Antillean gardens (except Handler 1964: 229, Harris 1965: 92-93; Niddrie 1961: 37). It is notable, however, that the Caribbean regional journal of food and nutrition is entitled *Cajanus*, and that the plant has many quasi-religious and medicinal uses in the Caribbean in addition to its use as a boundary-marker (Ayensu 1981: 140-41).

Two techniques that Antillean gardeners share with other gardeners of the American tropics require some special discussion: the use of ridges or mounds, and intercropping. Intercropping has been studied both regionally and internationally and its advantages are well-known (Batra 1982; Bradfield 1970; Hills & Iton 1983; Innis 1976; Norman 1974; Rashford 1982; Risch 1980; Stelly 1976; Weber 1979). The intercrop pattern of the Caribbean islands is a function of the distinctive crop complex. The maps in the appendix show the recurrent combinations: pigeon peas with cassava; maize with cassava; sweet potatoes with any combination of *Phaseolus* beans, maize, and pigeon peas; and yams with beans. The benefits of Caribbean intercrop combinations are summarized by Hills & Iton (1983).

Ridging has also been well described (Caines 1802: 40-43; Pulsipher 1978). It is documented from colonial times, when slaves were allowed to grow provisions along the crests of cane ridges (Caines 1802: 40). The hoe was the exclusive ridging tool, and to this day some gardeners of Montserrat refer to the work of hoeing ridges as "holing", the old term for hoeing cane holes into earth banks (Deerr 1949: ch. 2). Mounding and ridging are nearly universal techniques for managing soil and water, but the use of the short-handled hoe to raise earth is not mentioned for other areas of the American tropics.

To these features we add two more that help make the system

flexible: a range of tenure forms, and a continuum in degrees of intensification. Intensification ranges from rotational bush fallow swiddens to permanently and intensively cultivated plots subject to soil and water management short of irrigation. Land may be held in usufruct, freehold, and forms of tenancy including rent and share arrangements. These features respond to intra-regional variations in population density, land quality, and the presence or absence of commercial agriculture.

One aspect of Antillean land tenure needs special mention. Family land, as it is commonly called, is impartible and customarily inalienable land that is inherited and held in common by a group of siblings and their heirs. It is a customary form of freehold tenure that may include house sites as well as garden land, but the latter need not be cultivated by everyone who has rights to it. Family land is undoubtedly an Afro-American form of tenure that developed in the New World, as Besson (1984) has ably argued, and is a characteristic part of the Antillean range of small plot tenure forms.

The particular Antillean complex of techniques and features other than crop assemblage, then, consists of the short-handled hoe as a tool for mounding and ridging; a set of characteristic intercrop partners (mapped in the appendix); flexible forms of tenure and degrees of intensification that respond to a patchwork of changing demographic, economic, and physical conditions; family land as a distinctively regional form of tenure; livestock tethered on fallow; and the pigeon pea as a symbolic and boundary-marking crop.

The next step is to contrast our hypothesized Antillean sub-system with subsistence cultivation in Amazonia, Central America, and Yucatán. We must also compare it to the cultivation of the pre-Columbian Antilles in order to understand the nature of African and European modification.

The Pre-Columbian Antilles. Before the arrival of Europeans and Africans, the staple crops of the Carib and Arawak Indians of the Antilles were manioc (cassava) first, followed closely by maize and sweet potatoes (Rouse 1948: 522; Sauer 1969a: 53; Sturtevant 1961: 70). The lesser crops included cucurbits, *Phaseolus* species, native American yams (*D. trifida*), and the native American aroid, *Xanthosoma sagittifolium* (Rouse 1948: 523; Sauer 1969a: 54). This assemblage combines the root crop and seed crop complexes identified by Sauer (1969b: 45-48; 62-72). It is distinguished from the Antillean complex of today by the absence of *Musa* species, and of pigeon peas, African yams, and the aroid of Asian origin, *Colocasia*, all introduced with the

slave trade (Harris 1965: 115; Niddrie 1974: 109). It is interesting that the staple threesome of pre-Columbian times – maize, manioc, and sweet potatoes – are still part of the major group in the Antilles.

The Amazon Basin. The staple of the Amazon basin is, of course, bitter manioc, followed by the sweet potato and, for a few practitioners of incipient horticulture, *Musa*.⁶ Maize and other seed crops are secondary (Harris 1971; Lowie 1948), and crop complexes are known to be changing (Lowie 1948: 3; Hills 1968).

Before European conquest, the Amazonian bitter manioc and sweet potato complex extended to Honduras, the east coast of Brazil, and through the Antilles, whereas sweet manioc ranged farther into Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, and the Caribbean and Pacific lowlands of Central America (Sauer 1950: 507-09). Some peoples of the manioc area also use maize, beans, and squash, such as the Yukpa cultivators of the Colombia-Venezuela highlands, whose staple complex consists of maize, manioc, *Musa* and *Phaseolus* (Ruddle 1974: 124-50). A maize-manioc combination is also found elsewhere in the northeastern Andes (Métraux & Kirchhoff 1948: 355; Vessuri 1978: 49, 54), and in the Orinoco region (Roosevelt 1980), as well as in the pre-Columbian Antilles.

The Circum-Caribbean and Pacific Littoral. The circum-Caribbean areas and the Pacific littoral of Central America are critical areas for comparison because they are zones of overlapping aboriginal and Afro-American occupation. They will tell us whether the distinctive system we are identifying belongs only to the Antilles, or to other parts of the Afro-American tropics as well. Both the Miskito Indians and the Afro-American Garifuna of Honduras grow manioc as a staple crop (Gonzales 1969: 24; Nietschmann 1972). On the Pacific littoral, the Indian and Afro-Hispanic complexes alike include *Musa*, maize, manioc, and "taro-like tubers" (Whitten 1974: 65). The maroon groups of the former Guianas (also called Bush Negroes), who escaped slavery and forged a new society and culture from the late seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, adopted Indian staple crops during that period (Mirot 1973: 317; Price 1983: 78). Today manioc continues to be a principal crop among some maroon groups, although it has been replaced among others by dry rice (Price 1984: 27-33). Among both Indians and maroons, assemblages of lesser crops include maize, yams, *Xanthosoma*, *Colocasia* and *Phaseolus* (Cook 1968: 76; Hills 1968; Hurault 1965; Kahn 1931: 85-87; Kloos 1971: 32-34). The presence among Indians of *Colocasia*, introduced into the Antilles with the slave trade, may suggest that the Antillean complex is spreading, but the pigeon pea is not mentioned.

In the Caribbean lowlands of Central America, maize and manioc are the dominant staples, whereas pigeon peas, yams (either African or American), and the two aroids are of lesser importance or missing altogether from crop lists (Carter 1968; Johnson 1948: 231-52; Kirchhoff 1948: 220-21; Young 1971). Therefore we should consider these crops further as perhaps the crops that most distinguish the Antillean sub-system.

The pigeon pea is only rarely mentioned outside the island region. Ruddle reports it as a dooryard perennial among the central Venezuelan Yukpa, and Vessuri includes it in her list of crops grown by Venezuelan campesinos, but Vessuri's production figures (1978: 49-55) and Ruddle's garden maps (1974: 134-50) show its comparatively minor status. Some Campa of western Amazonia and a few Central American lowland Indians also use it (Denevan 1971; Carter 1968; Johnson 1948: 231; Young 1971). The lowland Indians may simply have adopted a useful crop of their neighbours, but the adoptions in Venezuela and western Amazonia are more likely related to the drier environment, in which the pigeon pea thrives.

We should also notice that those Indian groups who adopted the pigeon pea already practiced the seed cultivation of maize and beans. Furthermore, tropical cultivation changes continuously. Maize, for example, still spreads in South America (Hills 1968), just as the use of manioc or cassava in the Antilles dwindles. Pigeon peas may also be spreading. Unfortunately the literature does not tell us whether the symbolic significance of the crop as a border plant survives its diffusion beyond the islands.

African yam species and Asian *Colocasia* are also African contributions to the Antillean core crop complex. Native American yams are known and used in Amazonia and Central America (Denevan 1971: 505; Kirchhoff 1948: 220-21; Métraux & Kirchhoff 1948: 55; Mirot 1973: 317; Murra 1948: 278), although the literature does not indicate that they are staples (Denevan 1966; Gross 1975: 527). Further, American yams are absent from the assemblages of many groups in the Amazon and Central America (Harris 1971; Kirchhoff 1948; Johnson 1948; Roosevelt 1980). Although they were not pre-Columbian staples in the Greater Antilles either, they were quite important to the Caribs of the Lesser Antilles and Trinidad (Rouse 1948). These facts suggest that the partial replacement of manioc by a starch complex consisting of maize, sweet potatoes, yams, and *Xanthosoma* had already begun in the Caribbean islands in pre-Columbian times. The African contribution of African yams and *Colocasia* (from Asia by way of Africa) intensified the trend.

Colocasia is an important staple in the Pacific, where it is associated with moist environments (Barrau 1965; Hanson 1970; Waddell 1972: 51). It is not mentioned in Amazonian crop lists, many of which include *Xanthosoma* (Denevan 1971: 507; Kirchhoff 1948; Métraux & Kirchhoff 1948: 355; Smole 1976), nor does it occur in Central America. It would be useful to know whether the "taro-like tubers" in the Afro-Hispanic gardens of coastal Ecuador and Colombia include *Colocasia*, the true taro, although these gardens are in any case dominated by maize, *Musa*, and manioc (Whitten 1974: 65, 92-93). Nevertheless, the presence of *Colocasia* as a core crop and its function as a wet-site alternative to *Xanthosoma* are distinguishing features of Caribbean cultivation.

The final testing area for the sub-system is Yucatán, where there is also a range of moisture and topographical conditions, but where the population is predominantly native American. Maize dominates everywhere. Beans and squash are also important; sweet potatoes and *Xanthosoma* are less so. Some cultivators use manioc, bananas, and American yams, but these are far less important (Nations & Nigh 1980; Smith & Cameron 1977; Steggerda 1941). All of these domesticates except *Musa* may have been present among the prehistoric Maya (Wiseman 1983: 162). Pigeon peas, African yams, and *Colocasia* were not, of course, nor are they definitively reported in the present.⁷ Other important core crops of the Antilles – yam, manioc, and banana/plantain – have only minor places in the subsistence gardens of Yucatán.

We must now consider why the Antillean complex we have just identified does not coincide with the distribution of Afro-American gardeners in the New World tropics. During the first years of contact in the islands, the Africans borrowed economic plants as well as cultivating and processing techniques from the Indians, but the quick and early extermination of the Indians left an opening for African innovations in cultivation. The volume of the slave trade and the proportion of Africans in the total population was greater in the Antilles than anywhere else in the New World (Curtin 1969: Tables 23, 65, 77). These conditions explain the strong African imprint on the cultivation system.⁸ Where American Indians survived in greater numbers, however, they influenced African newcomers to a greater degree, as the crop complexes of the Bush Negroes, the Garifuna, and the Afro-Hispanics of coastal Ecuador and Colombia imply. Finally, the island cultivation system is not only a repository of Indian, African, and European contributions. It is also an adaptation to a range of environmental conditions: recurrent droughts, variable topography, and a variety of

moisture and wind conditions, all within a restricted and scattered land area.

CONCLUSION

The Antillean variation on the gardening of the American tropics evolved as part of the New World creolization process. It is a syncretic adaptation worked out by African slaves who incorporated African and European elements into aboriginal systems that already existed in the islands. Mounding, for example, was a feature of pre-Columbian conucos (Sauer 1969a: 51-53). Ridging has many possible sources: British and Irish lazy beds (Fowler 1983: 154-56), plantation canefields (Caines 1802: 40; Galloway 1985: 343-44), West African gardens (Miracle 1967: 162), and a variety of American aboriginal ways of raising earth (Denevan 1980). The short-handled hoe used to raise earth is, however, a tool of African provenience. The domestic animals came from Europe, and tethering them on fallow land was an eighteenth-century plantation practice (Caines 1802: 21). The core crop complex disclosed by our research includes aboriginal domesticates, to which were added African and Asian contributions introduced by the European slave trade. The entire assemblage also has multi-cultural origins.

The basic conformation that we have described can still be refined and amplified. The total crop assemblage outside the core needs to be inventoried and systematized, and island variations explained. We need a better understanding of the place of trees (but see Rashford 1982). Mango and breadfruit seem to have a great significance in the system, even where they are not intentionally planted and where they grow outside of gardens (Blume 1974: 49; Niddrie 1974: 109).

It is also necessary to organize the factors that will predict local variations in the system. These include physical and biotic factors, such as land quality, the incidence of drought, and the prevalence of garden pests (Berleant-Schiller 1977a; Mills 1974; Momsen 1972; Rashford 1982; Richardson 1975). Land tenure, crop theft, restricted access to basic resources, and stratification are features of social organization that are linked to each other and that may be partially related to physical factors; they are certainly related to the presence or absence of large-scale commercial agriculture (Berleant-Schiller 1977a, 1977b, 1978, 1983; Mills 1974; Paquette 1968; Rashford 1982; Stone 1976). The link between population density and local gardening differences is clearly important, but it has been neglected in Caribbean research

(Turner *et al.* 1967: 384-96). The education of cultivators and the possibilities for transport and marketing influence gardening decisions and hence local variations in the system (Brierley 1974; Momsen 1972). Studies of actual diets and of food preferences are also important. Recognition of these factors has emerged from local field research. A hypothesis for regional research that synthesizes these and other factors is now both practicable and pressing.

The Antillean small plot cultivation system is a widely distributed regional phenomenon that long antedates emancipation. We have tried to synthesize its distinctive characteristics, to differentiate it from the larger American tropical cultivation system of which it is a part, to explain its origin as a syncretized Afro-American adaptation, and to propose directions for further research.

APPENDIX

TABLE 4. SUMMARY DESCRIPTION OF FOUR STUDY PLOTS

| Garden Characteristics | Charles | Killeen | Smiley | Mead |
|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Zone classification | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Degree of slope | 0° | 20° | 45° | 25° |
| Orientation of slope | no slope | W | WNW | W |
| Plot size (m ²) | 5574 | 1393 | 1254 | 1393 |
| Plot shape | irregular | rectangle | trapezoid | rectangle |
| Soil | limestone | volcanic | volcanic | volcanic |
| Distance from house | 403 m. | on site | on site | 805 m. |
| Tenure | usufruct | owned | owned | rented |
| Origin of tenure | common | inherited | bought | rented |
| Household size | 9 | 7 | 6 | 2 |

We present here a description of one garden in each zone. The zone 1 garden is in Barbuda; the other three are in Montserrat. The gardens of zones 1, 2, and 3 are accompanied by maps sketched on the site and later redrawn. The three maps illustrate intercrop patterns; spatial arrangement of natural and human-made features; crop complexes; the location of trees, animals, and fallow land; and other features discussed in the text. The descriptions provide additional information about the gardeners, their households, and their tools and techniques.

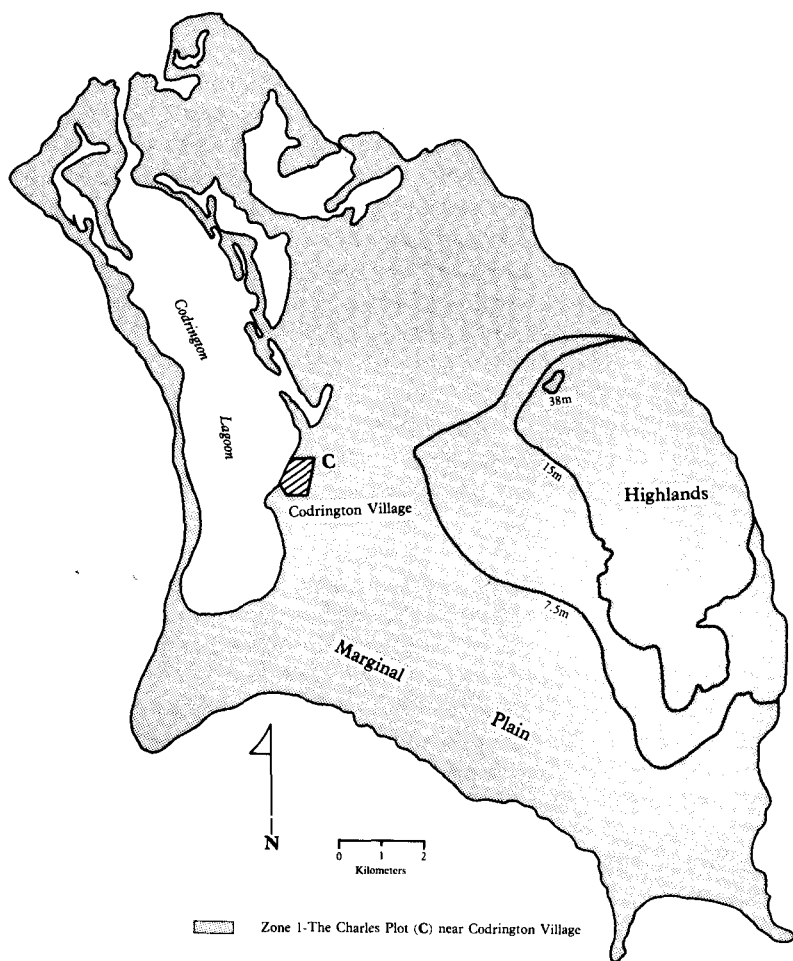
Zone 1: The Charles Garden of Barbuda

Figure 1. Barbuda, Zone 1 with Study Garden Plot

The Charles garden lies on Barbuda's flat marginal plain, at five meters above sea level. It consists of two parcels, about 150 meters apart and about 450 meters away from the dwelling. Sheet outcrops of limestone lie in the shallow greyish rendzina. The main parcel, mapped in Figure

3, has about 0.65 hectare in crop and about 0.18 hectare in fallow. A grove of trees, some planted and some volunteer, separates the fallow from the cropped. The second parcel is 0.4 hectare and planted only in sweet potatoes (*Ipomoea batatas*) and pigeon peas (*Cajanus cajan*), Barbuda's most dependable crops. Both parcels are held in usufruct. A wire fence keeps out straying livestock.

Aside from the trees – soursop (*Annona muricata*), genip (*Melicoccus bijugatus*), cashew (*Anacardium occidentale*), lime (*Citrus aurantiifolia*), sweet orange (*Citrus sinensis*), and calabash (*Crescentia cujete*) – there are just eight different crops in the Charles garden, which rarely receives more than 7 to 10 centimeters of rain a month during the growing season, September through January, and rarely more than 90 centimeters during the year. The crops are arranged in intercropped

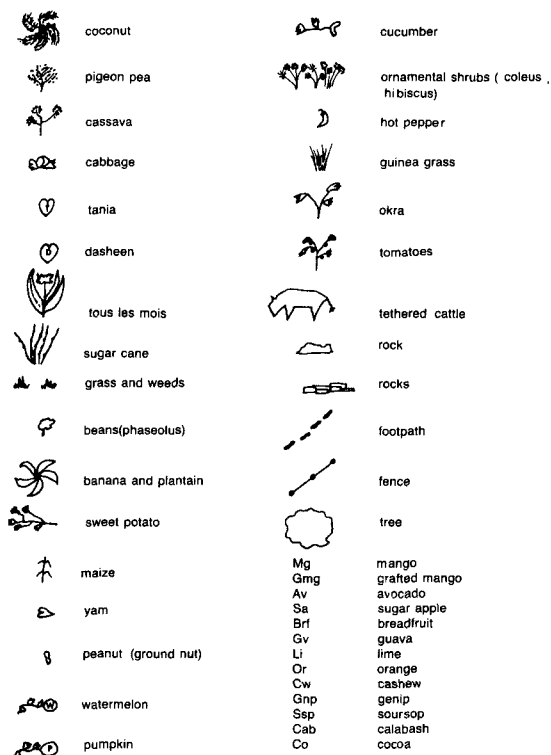


Figure 2. Key to Garden Sketch Maps

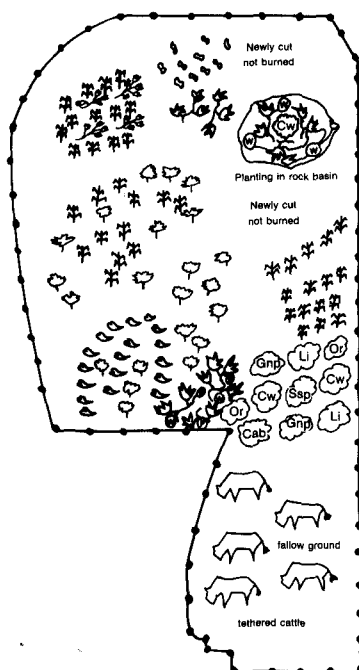


Figure 3. The Charles Garden, Zone 1, Barbuda

clumps and patches, maize (*Zea mays*) with beans (*Phaseolus* sp.), maize with sweet potatoes, beans with yams (*Dioscorea* sp.), and pumpkins (*Cucurbita moschata*) with watermelon (*Citrullus vulgaris*). A few loblolly trees (*Pisonia subcordata*) were spared burning to provide shade. The stems of partly burned shrubs support bean vines. Melon and pumpkin vines are planted around outcrops so that they may spread over the rock and keep the fruit from ground contact.

The land is cleared with a machete and then burned. The Barbudan system of tenure that grants common rights to undivided lands favors shifting cultivation, so that cutting and burning new sites is a regular procedure. Once the ash is spread, planting is done by dibbling and hand-setting. Mounds for sweet potatoes loosen the soil and encourage the retention of moisture.

Nutrient management includes spreading of burn ash and pen manure, mulching with green manure, intercropping, and rotational bush fallow. The parcel devoted to pigeon peas and sweet potatoes, for

example, will be abandoned after its third year of use. The fallow section of parcel number 1 has not been used for three years, although some cattle are occasionally tethered there, enriching the soil with their droppings. Moisture management consists of placing sensitive crops in the shade and in deeper soil pockets that catch runoff from rocks. Weeds are hoed and pulled.

Except for a few cows tethered on the fallow, livestock stay elsewhere: fowl, pig, and donkeys in the house yard and goats, sheep, and cattle on open range. These animals are for food and sale, cattle being an especially important source of income (Berleant-Schiller 1977). Household labor is sufficient for this garden and for another located elsewhere. The gardens supply a large part, though not all, of the subsistence for nine people.

Zone 2: The Killeen Garden

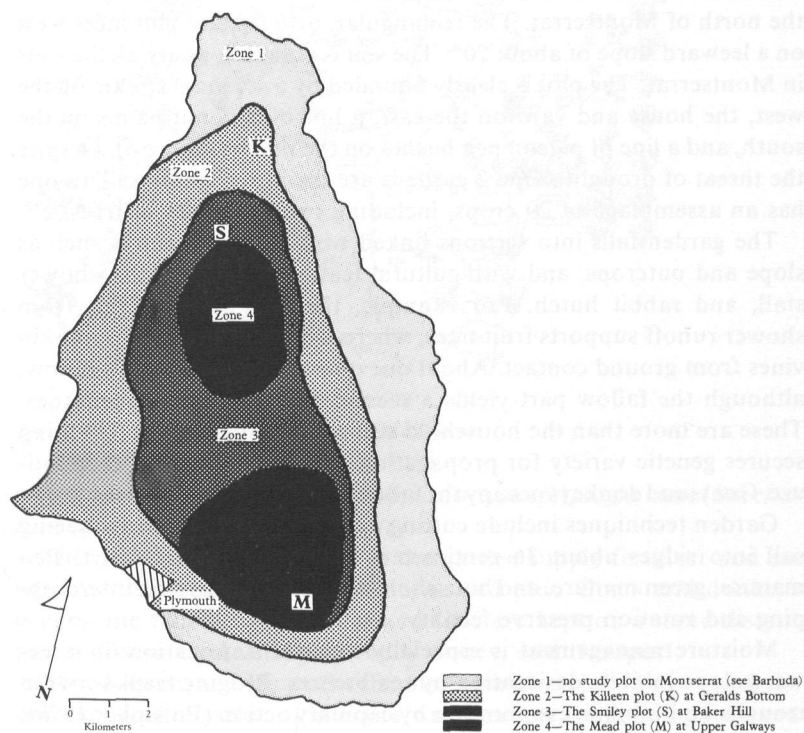


Figure 4. Montserrat, Zones and Study Garden Plots (planimetric map)

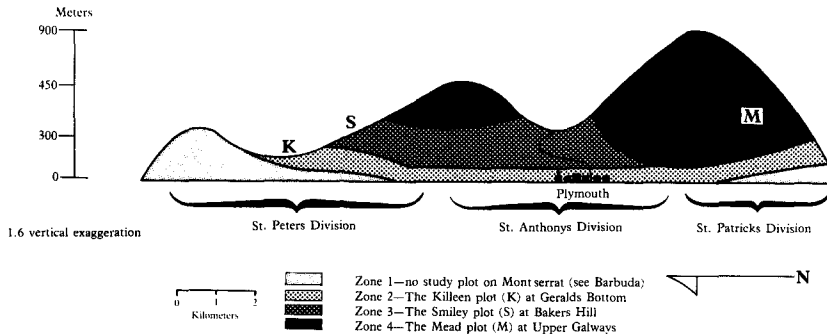


Figure 5. Montserrat, Zones and Study Garden Plots

The Killeen garden is in Gerald's Bottom, 150 meters above sea level in the north of Montserrat. The rectangular, 0.16 hectare plot faces west on a leeward slope of about 20° . The soil is volcanic, as are all the soils in Montserrat. The plot is clearly bounded by a seasonal stream on the west, the house and yard on the east, a line of coconut palms on the south, and a line of pigeon pea bushes on the north (Figure 6). Despite the threat of drought, zone 2 gardens are the most complex. This one has an assemblage of 29 crops, including twelve species of trees.

The garden falls into sections linked with natural features such as slope and outcrops, and with cultural features such as paths, shower stall, and rabbit hutch. For example, the area that benefits from shower runoff supports fruit trees, whereas a rock pile keeps pumpkin vines from ground contact. About one quarter of the garden is fallow, although the fallow part yields a second bearing of sweet potatoes. These are more than the household can eat, but such surplus planting secures genetic variety for propagation and insures against crop failure. Goats and donkeys occupy the fallow.

Garden techniques include cutting and burning followed by hoeing soil into ridges about 36 centimeters high and a meter apart. Pen manure, green manure, and household refuse enrich the soil; intercropping and rotation preserve fertility.

Moisture management is especially important. Location on a leeward slope inhibits desiccation by sea breezes. Ridging traps water in troughs and inhibits evaporation by capillary action (Pulsipher 1978). Green mulch also reduces moisture loss. The small part of the garden that receives household runoff is planted with crops that need extra

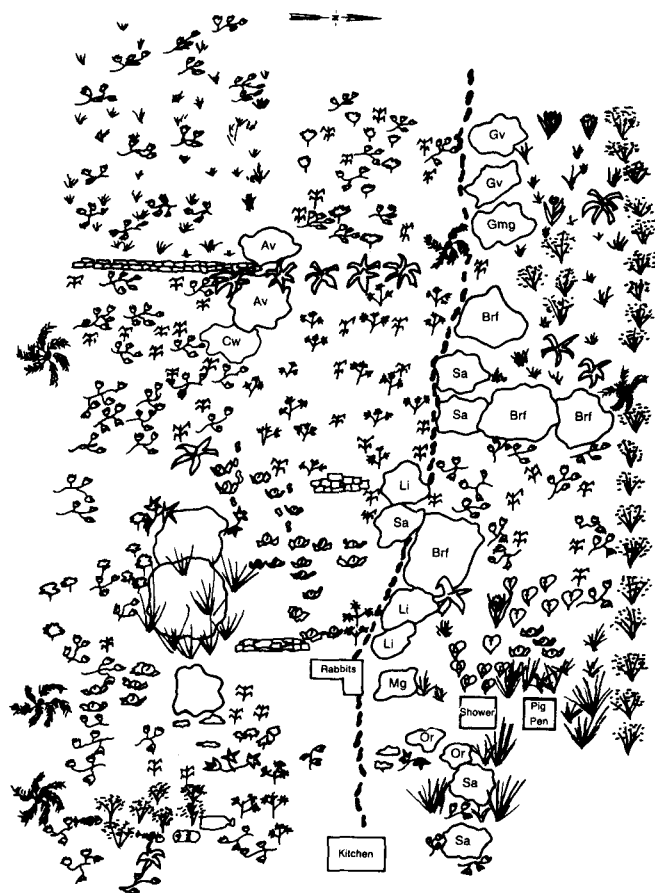


Figure 6. The Killeen Garden, Zone 2, Montserrat

water, such as dasheen (taro, eddo; *Colocasia* sp.), sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum*), and fruit trees.

The rabbits and pig housed in the garden supply fertilizer and eat weed cuttings and scraps from house and plot. Goats and donkeys occupy the fallow, while cattle and fowl are kept on a more distant parcel. These animals supply food, money, and transport.

Mrs. Killeen, age 45, works the plot with household help, using the ordinary tool complex of hoe, fire, and machete, and adding fork and mattock hoe for breaking soil. The garden provides subsistence for eight people.

Zone 3: The Smiley Garden

The Smiley Garden at Baker Hill lies 215 meters up the north face of the Centre Hills on a 45° slope facing west northwest. It is 0.13 hectare in area, completely ridged, and bounded by a road at the top, a watercourse downslope, and plantings of pigeon pea, sugar cane, banana (*Musa* sp.) and coconut along the sides.

Twenty-four crops are arranged in intercropped patches (Figure 7). Trees clustered in the northeast corner and lined along the downslope watercourse include avocado, breadfruit, mango, and cocoa. Other trees dot the garden.

Techniques that help maintain soil nutrients are intercropping, crop rotation, and the application of pen manure, green manure, and household refuse. Small parts of the plot are fallowed for a few months at a time on a rotating basis. Burning adds few nutrients because it is used only on small areas of herbaceous plants.

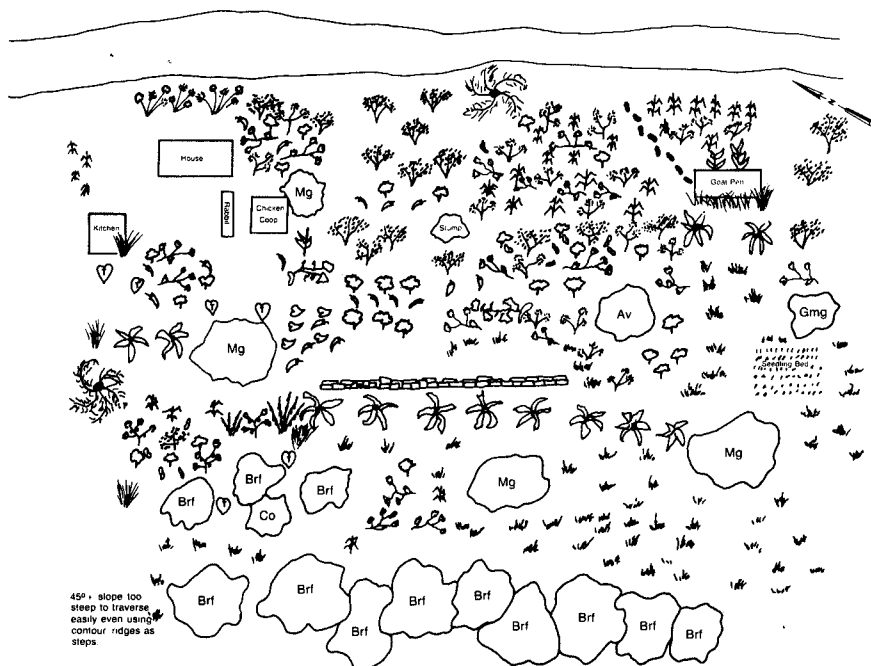


Figure 7. The Smiley Garden, Zone 3, Montserrat

Water control requires management of both excess moisture and lack of moisture on a steep, easily eroded slope. Ridges check runoff and hold water in the troughs where moisture-loving crops are placed. Excess water is drained through a cross-ridge trench. As in the Killeen garden, plants that need regular watering are planted near household drainage.

Despite its location on a leeward slope, the garden needs protection from the continuous wind. Dense grasses and clumps of sugarcane on the upper border intercept some breezes. Sensitive plants are placed in the lee of trees, outcrops, and buildings.

Weeds that do not threaten crops are ignored. They hold soil and provide ground cover. When necessary, they are pulled or chopped, and used for mulch and animal feed. Garden scraps also feed the goats, rabbits, and fowl that are housed in the yard and garden, for sale or food as necessary.

Excess planting is seen here too, and equally turns out to be purposeful. There must be enough for the inevitable pests as well as for the household. The seemingly disproportionate numbers of breadfruit and mangos in the garden tempt pests away from other valuable crops and supply abundant pig feed.

Hoe, machete, and very limited fire are the only tools. Household labor accomplishes daily and seasonal jobs and provides subsistence for six people.

Zone 4: The Mead Garden

This plot, at Upper Galways in southwestern Montserrat, typifies the moist conditions of zone 4. It lies at 335 meters on a 25° slope that faces west. The rectangular, 0.16 plot is rented for EC\$10 a year (about US\$4), supplies subsistence for a couple past eighty, and is located 800 meters above their house.

The plot is typically ridged and arranged into intercropped and single-cropped patches. Pigeon peas, maize, and red peppers (*Capsicum frutescens*) are planted separately; sweet potato, dasheen, pumpkin, tania (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*), and cucumber (*Cucumis sativus*) are intercropped. Border plants mark the boundaries.

The soil is cultivated with hoe and machete. No pen manure is applied because no animals are housed on the plot, but daily weed cuttings add green manure. Nutrients are also managed by crop rotation, intercropping, periodic burning, and fallowing of about one sixth of the plot at any given time. Long term fallowing will effectively take

place when declining fertility drives Mrs. Mead to rent elsewhere.

Ridging answers most requirements of water management, aided by mulching, crop placement, and hoeing. Although there is frequent rainfall, the slope sheds water without eroding quickly. Wind desiccation is not a problem either, because air descending from the Soufriere Hills almost always carries moisture.

The plot is too far from the house for Mrs. Mead to keep animals on it conveniently. However, garden maize feeds the fowl in her houseyard and helps support the draft donkey.

As in Zone 3, weeds are useful in holding soil, and are removed only if they interfere with the crop. Mrs. Mead works the plot with only minimal and occasional help from her husband, using hoe, fire, and machete.

NOTES

1. The field research for this paper was done jointly in Montserrat in 1979, and separately in Montserrat (Pulsipher) and Barbuda (Berleant-Schiller) from 1971 to 1983. The paper itself is also the product of both joint and individual work. The original versions of the appendix and the report on field study were jointly drafted; the revisions published here are the work of Berleant-Schiller. The sections on comparison, interpretation, and conclusions are the complete responsibility of Berleant-Schiller. Pulsipher assumed responsibility for revising the maps and tables and supervising their final preparation. We are grateful to the Cartography Laboratory of the University of Tennessee Geography Department for executing the maps and tables.

We have incorporated into this paper useful comments and ideas from many people. We thank Janet Crane, Sidney Mintz, Sally Price, many who attended the session on Afro-Caribbean Attitudes to Land at the 44th International Congress of Americanists (Manchester, September 1982), and anonymous referees.

This paper could not have been written without the interlibrary loan services supplied by the University of Connecticut Libraries. We thank Susan Theborge for rendering these services ably and cheerfully.

2. This abundant literature includes: Antonini 1971; Brach 1964; Brierley 1974; Buchler 1963; Caribbean Commission 1954; Demas 1970; Edwards 1961, 1973; Friedrich 1975; Henshall & King 1966; Hills & Iton 1982, 1983; Hoy 1961, 1971; Innis 1961; Iton 1970; Jolly 1956; Keur & Keur 1960: 59-101; Kimber 1966; Merrill 1958; Mills 1974, 1976; Momsen 1972, 1973; Niddrie 1961; Paquette 1968, 1982a, 1982b; Pulsipher 1978; Rashford 1982; Stone 1976; Werge 1975; Winters & Miskimen 1967; Wood 1963; Wright 1979; Yankey 1973.

3. Annual rainfall averages for each island are available, but regular, accurate records of intra-island variations are not.

4. It is difficult to distinguish absolutely between cash and subsistence crops because gardeners must be flexible. Market prices, transport, household economy, and other factors influence the disposal of the harvest no matter what a gardener's intentions at planting.
5. The absence of maize from the list of crops reported for St. Maarten is very puzzling. Keur & Keur may have accidentally omitted it (1960: 71), especially since they mention maize as one of the crops grown by the freed people after emancipation (70).
6. Many authorities may be cited to show the dominance of manioc in the Amazon basin, including Basso 1977: 13; Carneiro 1964; Chagnon 1968: 249-50; Denevan 1966, 1971; Grigg 1974: 10; Gross 1975: 531; Harris 1971; Leeds 1961; Meggers 1973: 311; Moran 1979: 143-44; Smole 1976. Good summaries of Amazon subsistence cultivation may be found in Lowie 1948 and Sauer 1950.
7. Smith & Cameron report the presence of the *garbanzo*, which is the Spanish term for chickpea, *Cicer arietinum*. But they mistake its binomial, assigning *Cajanus indicus*, which properly refers to the *gandule*, or pigeon pea. Nations & Nigh do not further specify the genus *Dioscorea*.
8. Although the total number of slaves imported during the trade was as great in Brazil as in the Antilles, the proportion of slaves both to total population and to land area was lower.

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WORDS AND DEEDS IN COLA DEBROT'S "DE VERVOLGDEN"

At the end of Cola Debrot's *Mijn zuster de negerin* (1935; *My Sister the Negro*, 1958), an old black servant faces the wrath and the gun of the white protagonist, accusing him of committing incest with his father's daughter, the servant's granddaughter. The old man decides to speak out because he has "seen too many accidents" from which he could have "protected others" (64).¹ In Debrot's last novella, *De vervolgd* (1982b; *The Persecuted*), a similar feeling of responsibility is at the heart of the Governor's murder of Padre Rojas, the priest of the island Curaçam, who is about to report all those guilty of miscegenation to the Inquisition. In *Mijn zuster*, Debrot's first novella, the servant's words are powerful enough to affect the protagonist's action, but in his last work, published a few months after the author's death in 1981, the Governor's words fail to affect the priest's decision. The Governor realizes that "the time for discussions had passed" (58). He sees no other possibility to save his people from torture except to kill the priest. Among those "guilty" of miscegenation is the Governor's daughter.

Both works express the central theme in Debrot's oeuvre, the individual's responsibility to defy conventional norms in order to alleviate the suffering caused by those norms. But the novellas differ radically in their vision of how to execute this responsibility, especially in the extent to which language – and by extension the writer – can play a crucial role in protecting those that are vulnerable, those that are persecuted. An analysis of the relationship between language and action in *De vervolgd* in contrast to Debrot's earlier work indicates the development of his perception of the social responsibility of the artist, a development that tells us as much about the changed personal

vision of this Caribbean author and statesman as about the changed moral climate of our time.

Cola Debrot had widely ranging talents. Born on Bonaire, a small island close to Curaçao, in 1902, he left for the Netherlands when he was fourteen years old and completed his university studies in two fields, law and medicine. In the 1920s, he travelled through Europe and the USA as a journalist. He practiced medicine in Amsterdam during the war and later in the Antilles, where he entered politics in 1950 to become the first native-born Antillean Governor to the Netherlands Antilles (1962–70). Yet, in his own opinion, his “most important contribution” was his writing (Veltman 1979: 3). *Mijn zuster*, the first Antillean work of fiction in the Dutch language, has become a Dutch classic. Further, he published one full-length novel, three novellas, several volumes of poetry, and he edited three literary journals, including *Antilliaanse Cahiers*, which has affected the development of modern Antillean literature in that young Antillean writers were stimulated by Debrot to publish their work there.² Finally, he was the most respected critic of Antillean literature in the Antilles and in the Netherlands.³

During the last two years of his life, Debrot turned to the sixteenth-century confrontation of Europeans and Indians, of the Spanish and the Caiquetíos, in the Antilles. Set in Curaçam, a fictional island closely resembling Curaçao, the conflict in *De vervolgden* between the Governor and Padre Rojas centers on racial purity, “la limpieza de la raza” (56), an issue that echoes Caliban’s enslavement by Prospero in Shakespeare’s last play. *The Tempest* provides the classic model for the fears of the Europeans for “the other” – the outcast of society, the “wild man” (Kermode 1954: xxxix). In the Renaissance these fears are projected onto the non-white person – the Indian, the African, and the Asian (Kermode 1954: xxxviii).⁴ The colonial pattern of the European image of the person of color is expressed in Prospero’s response to Caliban’s lust for Miranda. In his violent approach to her, Caliban seals his identity as that of a savage – inferior to Europeans, fit only for harsh enslavement, an image of dark non-Europeans commonly found in colonial literature.

The colonial conflict in *The Tempest* also tests the quality of European civilization and questions the integrity of Prospero, the European in power. In other words, in his sudden power over others, Prospero also confirms his own identity. Confronted with a responsibility for the lives of non-Europeans whom he considers to be spiritually, culturally, and morally inferior, Prospero’s own lack of morality is revealed. His

power is dramatized as cruel and repressive. He exercises his authority for the benefit of the Europeans, not of the person whose land and liberty he has taken. In its contact with the dark-skinned non-Europeans, European civilization reveals its darker, repressive quality, its core of arbitrary cruelty.

Nearly four centuries later, the Prospero-Miranda-Caliban triangle and the theme of miscegenation enable Debrot to continue Shakespeare's exploration of human nature, which shows itself most brutally in the colonies (Mannoni 1964: 97). However, Debrot, looking at the theme of miscegenation from the Antillean point of view, inverts the interracial relationships and explores the possibility of an alternative reaction of the European to the non-European. In *De vervolgden*, the Governor (unlike Prospero) protects the right of both his daughter, Isabela, and the Caiquetío Indian, Diego, to live their lives as they see fit, notwithstanding the threat of the Inquisition. Unlike most colonial works of drama and fiction, *De vervolgden* does not explore the development nor does it evaluate the quality of the interracial relationship. The relationship between Isabela and Diego is a given, used only as a catalyst to explore the contrasting reactions of two powerful European men to the question of their racial and spiritual superiority, and ultimately to the question of the validity of European laws in the Antilles. One of the central questions the novella poses is whether the Governor should be obedient to the colonial powers or responsive to the needs of his subjects.

The interracial relationships are only the occasion that reveals the priest's subservience and the Governor's radical opposition to the authority of a distant church. Almost instinctively, the Governor shares the fate of the Caiquetíos, the mestizos and the other common people who are subject to the whims of the European colonial authority. The title, "The Persecuted," refers to everyone in the novella who because of race or inclination challenges the European assumption of spiritual, racial and moral superiority. The Governor's refusal to cooperate with Padre Rojas demonstrates his independence from the colonial hierarchical pattern maintained by the Catholic Church. In his spontaneous identification with the vulnerable people that he governs, the Governor asserts the island's independence – if only for a brief period – until he himself will be accused, tortured and killed by the Inquisition for his murder of Padre Rojas.

In *De vervolgden*, Debrot is not interested in developing the personality of the priest or of the governor. He is not interested in their psychology, only in their words and their actions. In contrast to the

emphasis in *The Tempest* on the establishment of colonial relationships, *De vervolgden* focuses on moments when these colonial relationships are shattered, on acts that spontaneously express a spirit of independence, on crises in which individuals endanger their personal safety to respond to those who are persecuted because of their race and religion. The novella asks if a "Prospero," a representative of the colonial powers, can identify with a "Caliban," the person whose appearance and culture challenge the European's belief in his own superiority.

In *Mijn zuster*, Debrot's Caliban figure is able to speak up; and when he does, the Prospero type is changed. In *De vervolgden*, the European powers – those of the Inquisition – are brutal and arbitrary. The island's Indians and mestizos are helpless, and so is the European (the Governor) who refuses to cooperate with the oppression of innocent people. Only through violence is the Governor able to protect the people, and then only momentarily.

De vervolgden consists of a series of loosely connected incidents that form part of the journey of three Caiquetío brothers who settle on the island after having fled the Spanish Conquistadors. They become acquainted with the customs and the people of Curaçam and one of them, Diego, a rock painter, learns to know the Governor's daughter who is also an artist. In the caves they share their joy when one of them has finished a successful drawing: "They would dance through the cavern while she held his shoulders" (51). The prevalence of miscegenation and the presence of the Governor's daughter among those threatened with the priest's persecution lead to the conflict between the Governor and Padre Rojas. After he has killed the priest, the Governor travels around the island briefly, saying a quiet farewell to those he loves (e.g., his daughter and Diego) because he feels threatened: "He had the feeling that a disaster would meet him which he would not survive" (63). At that moment the island is attacked by the *Doomsday*, an English ship. The Curaçam people win and capture soldiers wounded in the thorny hedges that grow around the island as a defense. They carefully tend the wounded soldiers. At the end of the novella, as the soldiers leave, the Indians "have developed a certain sympathy for the reddish-blond young men" (84.).

The point of view shifts several times in the course of the narrative – from the Caiquetíos to Delfino and Alfonso (both mestizos), the Governor and others. The narrative includes scenes that show that the colonial hierarchical pattern does not hold and that reveal the customs of the three Indian men and the social conditions of the inhabitants of

Curaçam under the humane leadership of the Governor. For example, when the three brothers arrive on the island, they are captured by the Governor's soldier, whose attitude typifies that of most of the Curaçam people: "I am not better than you are. I am only a native believing in the idol of the Techlican. I could even be a mestizo. Do not worry about all this" (20). The social conditions of the island show a carefully nurtured harmony between the people and their environment. Although before the Governor came there were also harmful plants on the island, "now under the care of the Governor, there are only healthful plants left" (43). People are expected to work, but they may choose their jobs: "What is important is what you are able to do and not what we would wish you could do" (50).

The almost utopian conditions on the island reflect the solidarity of the Governor with the people – the Indians, the mestizos and the Spanish. The three Indian refugees assimilate quickly and easily because the culture and the values of the island are similar to their own. For example, under the Governor's rule, work is performed on the basis of the individual's interest. This division of labor is identical to the way the Caiquetío brothers divided their work before they arrived on the island: "The brother of the water, who took care primarily of the water supply, the brother of the muscle, because he used the most force in rowing, the smallest, the brother of drawing, because he was inclined to scratch drawings on the walls of caves...." (8). As they become members of the Curaçam community, they can continue to develop their special talents: "The result was that the Caiquetío of the muscle was assigned to care for the horses, the brother of the water was assigned to care for the plants" (50). The youngest, Diego, is welcomed as rock painter, "for we have not had an artist for a long time" (51). In other words, Debrot stresses the contribution of the Indian culture and value system to the general well-being of the island.⁵ The man on whom the Governor leans most, Doctor Jorge, is a Guajira-Indian with an exceptional knowledge of medicinal plants: "There they saw hundreds of wayaca pots with herbs which Dr. Jorge had collected in the forests from Guyana to Tachira" (48). The people (including the Governor's daughter) are left to spend their free time as they wish. Often they "danced the chain dance of the Caracas Indians.... A young woman made a series of movements so that her legs, which were painted with blue stripes on the outside and inside, were visible" (51).

The contrast between Prospero's fury over Caliban's desire for Miranda and the Governor's warm acceptance of his daughter's Indian companion is sharpened by the contrast between the fury of Caliban

over his loss of land and freedom and the feeling of general well-being that prevails in the Curaçam community. Debrot has created a fictional society in which one can not speak of Europeans and Indians, of Spanish and Caiquetíos, but only of Curaçam people.

Yet this society is vulnerable from without and within. Ironically, the peace of the island depends on the continuation of the wars of the Spanish Conquistadors on the continent. The prosperity of Curaçam is due less to the Governor's wisdom or the contribution of its citizens than to the coincidence that the horses used by the Spanish are raised in Curaçam. A more direct, internal threat to the social harmony comes from the intolerance and racism of the Catholic Church. Padre Rojas, the representative of the Inquisition, is inflexible in his obedience to rigid prescribed rules, in his belief that the Catholic dogmas are eternal and universally valid, and in his insistence that the people follow Church law, under threat of torture and death.

In *The Tempest*, racial harmony is impossible because of Prospero's imagined superiority. The initial friendship between Prospero and Caliban ("then I loved thee" I, ii, 338) is disturbed because of Prospero's anger over Caliban's threat to his daughter's virginity. Prospero's fear of miscegenation is but an aspect of the racialism that typifies European culture. In order to ensure the continuation of this superiority, of his authority, Prospero imprisons and enslaves Caliban. In *De vervolgden*, the threat to racial harmony originates in a particular mentality, a temperament that is characterized by a total disregard for and intolerance of other types of religious experiences and by an absolute indifference to the effect of the Church's punishment on the individual.

Like Prospero, Padre Rojas cannot imagine other cultures, other moral systems, other religious values equal to his own. The difference between *The Tempest* and *De vervolgden* is that one European (the Governor) in *De vervolgden* spontaneously identifies with the "Calibans," the Caiquetíos. And, unlike Prospero, Debrot's Governor pays a very high price for this solidarity.

As Estelle Debrot, the author's wife, has pointed out in the afterword to the novella, the confrontation between races is Debrot's principal theme, "from *Mijn zuster de negerin* to this last novella" (85). "His work," she writes, "pleads that this confrontation will lead not only to tolerance but also to a deep mutual and humane sympathy between people of different races" (85). In *Mijn zuster*, this tolerance and mutual sympathy is reached through the realistic, honest use of language. In a segmented society where words are used to lie, to cover up the truth, or at best to gossip and scheme, the servant's factual simplicity – "Maria is the

daughter of your father" (62) – startles the young plantation owner into stepping outside of traditional colonial patterns and accepting both Maria and her black grandfather as family.

Yet *Mijn zuster* ends on a somewhat elegiac tone, a tone of inaction: "Life became sad, but it became full of meaning which life elsewhere lacked. And that is the only thing no one can take from the children of this earth" (66). The author does not explore in what way the protagonist and his newly found sister and grandfather can act upon their new awareness, this new "meaning." In its realistic style and subject matter, *Mijn zuster* expresses a faith in the power of language to alter human awareness and action.

De vervolghden expresses a similar desire for tolerance and understanding and a deep solidarity with all those that are persecuted – the Caiquetíos, the Governor, his daughter and the many others who abhor the racial and religious intolerance of the Spanish. Yet the forces that block this desire are far too strong for language to have any effect. The Governor kills the priest because "the time for discussion had passed" (58). His deceased wife is known as a writer of realistic prose, of descriptions of the island, "the landscape, the livestock and trade, but also... the civil, religious and judicial institutions" (70). Her work, according to the Governor, is "exemplary in its vivid and accurate depictions of the people who move between the institutions and the scenery" (70). Yet this realistic quality of her writing is enough to place her work on the list of works under investigation by the Inquisition. The priest, notwithstanding (or perhaps because of) all his prayers, is so far removed from the experience of the common people that the plain description of the torture and loneliness that await those accused by the Inquisition does not move him: "You know that they will be locked up in dungeons for months; you know that they will be heard and judged and that they finally will be undressed and beaten on the Square of Colou" (58).

Debrot evokes a world in which those who use language realistically can no longer affect those in power, those who believe in a single vision of a single truth. In *Mijn zuster*, the one courageous person who simply tells the truth is a black man who thereby convinces a white man to alter his behavior. In *De vervolghden*, the courageous man, the Governor, is white and seemingly powerful, but he cannot communicate through language. Words are no longer effective tools for solving problems.

Debrot's pessimistic view of the power of the writer to affect the disharmony between people becomes even more distinct when we consider that the model for the Governor – the only character in *De*

vervolgden without a name – is Lázaro Bejarano, the second governor of Curaçao, who was also one of the first poets to live on the island.⁶ As a writer, Debrot strongly identified with Bejarano. For example, in an interpretative survey of Antillean literature, Debrot divides the colonial literature of the islands into works that exhibit “conformist” tendencies, imitating cultural and literary models of Europe, and works that are “non-conformist” in that the writers assert their individuality, their Caribbean cultural tradition (Debrot 1977: 100-102). In Debrot’s survey, Bejarano is the first nonconformist writer: “He represents an individualism which only three centuries later... entered Antillean literature” (Debrot 1977: 102). This interpretation of Bejarano is based on the fact that all his writing has been destroyed by the Inquisition and that he himself was accused by the Inquisition of supposedly Lutheran sympathies (Debrot 1976b: 93). Not the presence but the absence of Bejarano’s writing argues for his independence, his nonconformist attitude. After a gap of more than three centuries, Debrot considers his own novella, *Mijn zuster*, the next literary expression of this nonconformist tendency, thereby indicating that he looked at Bejarano with more than casual interest.⁷

In an article published in 1976, Debrot argues that there is enough material available about Lázaro Bejarano, the “Señor de Curazao,” for a biography (Debrot 1976b: 99). This should not be a negative biography as Bejarano’s enemies would write, nor an overly sympathetic one from his friends. Debrot does not say what type of biography he would prefer. *De vervolgden* shows that he must have looked for a fictional portrayal to be written from the point of view of those persecuted: the Indians, the mestizos and the Governor himself.

In *De vervolgden*, Debrot focuses on those personality traits in his literary and political predecessor that emphasize nonconformist tendencies. These traits are all the more sharply drawn as the Governor is presented, not as a poet, but as a man of action, a soldier. Debrot explores in *De vervolgden* the extent to which action can express one’s desire for justice. As a practical man in sympathy with the common people, the Governor has deeply affected the quality of life and the development of interracial relationships. But his sympathy and this practicality ironically make him into a murderer.

Debrot as doctor, diplomat, politician, and writer must have had more than a literary interest in exploring the extent to which action rather than words can express one’s desire for justice and one’s feelings of social responsibility. But it becomes a major interest in his fiction, beginning with *Bewolkt bestaan* (1948). In that novel, Carlota, one of

the protagonists, rejoices over the outbreak of the second world war because she thinks that people will now learn the "value of meaningful action" (364). Ironically, the only person capable of a meaningful deed is the black servant who, out of pity for Carlota's terrible and chronic suffering, kills her. The killing of Carlota appears to be meaningful in that it expresses compassion and responsibility.

The concept of a meaningful act becomes a religious question in "De brief aan de president," an unfinished short story written in 1958 and published posthumously in 1982. In this fragment, an ambassador from a Latin American republic writes two versions of a letter of resignation. The story breaks off in the second letter. After the ambassador has finished the first, rather impersonal version of his resignation, he visits the Papal Nuncio. The visit plays no apparent role in the plot, but it provides an insight into the essentially religious motivation of the ambassador's resignation and hints at the author's own world view.

The ambassador asks the nuncio if God exists. To clarify the question, he rephrases it: "I would like to know if there are general rules and absolute standards according to which mankind should guide its conduct.... [or if] my actions, which could have such terrible consequences, should be considered ultimately as arbitrary" (592). The nuncio consoles him by saying that God does exist, that actions can express God's existence, but that the expression of God's image may differ from person to person: "It would be too much to expect that everyone would have the same religious conviction" (592). Thus, action – no matter what its consequences may be – can be an expression of a pure and deeply religious conviction. Indeed, the nuncio argues, religious expressions may have many forms.

De vervolgen explores the consequences of these two aspects of the nuncio's answer: his belief in the existence of an absolute, a God, and the consequent importance of religious toleration. Both Padre Rojas and the Governor act out of deep inner conviction, and both are aware of the terrible consequences of their actions. Padre Rojas knows that his report to the Inquisition will lead to torture of innocent people. The Governor also is aware of the consequences of his cold-blooded murder of the priest. Both men believe with equal strength in their own sincerity, in the necessity to follow their "inner conviction," as Padre Rojas expresses it (57). Are their actions then equally religious? Can God be expressed in torture and murder? Or is there a qualitative difference between the two actions, between betrayal of innocent people and the murder of an intolerant authority? The key to Debrot's search for a religious motivation, begun in *Bewolkt bestaan* and explored in "De brief," lies in the

difference between the motivation of the priest and the governor, in the difference between the totalitarian and humanistic mentality.

In the fragment, "De brief," the nuncio confirms that actions can express the existence of an absolute, of a God. He does not, however, explain how to distinguish between an arbitrary act and a religious act. Nor do the letters of resignation in "De brief" give a clue. The first letter is too diplomatic, and the second, highly personal letter is not finished. In *Bewolkt bestaan*, Debrot had already hinted at one necessary aspect of a meaningful act. In this early exploration of the relationship between action and social responsibility, the servant's deed is a result of her spontaneous identification with the suffering Carlota. The author shows here that compassion with those who suffer is a necessary criterion in our evaluation of the meaning of an action. In this novel, the answer, however, is not worked out. The servant is an undeveloped character, a fictional *deus ex machina*. But in the conflict between the priest and the governor in *De vervolgden*, Debrot clarifies the distinction between the arbitrary act and the act that proves "God exists."

The novella shows that a meaningful act is religious, not because it follows church dogmas but because it springs from a feeling of sympathy with those that suffer. The interest in the definition of a meaningful act hinted at in the compassionate act at the end of *Bewolkt bestaan* is developed in a non-dogmatic and anti-authoritarian context as an essentially religious interest.

Immediately in the opening scene of *De vervolgden*, the interest in the religious experience is established. The three brothers pray to "the green ray of the setting sun" (8) the first evening they arrive on shore. At other times and other places they have venerated the iguana, the crocodile, the blue-green parrot and even the invisible flower. In other words, they are flexible in their choice of religious object. But their prayer is characteristically an expression of brotherhood: "As a sign of brotherhood they placed their hands on each other's shoulders" (8). In contrast, Padre Rojas prays alone inside the wooden church, "deeply bent forwards as if he wanted to lift up the tiles" (46). There are many other expressions of religious feeling in the novella. Those that express solidarity with others and love for the environment are described as positive, while those that do not are shown to be destructive.

The Governor's murder of the priest must be seen in the context of the nuncio's confirmation that God exists. What in *Bewolkt bestaan* seems to be tacked on, and what in the fragment, "De brief," is given as an abstract theory – the question of the meaningful deed – is worked out in *De vervolgden* in all its complexity. In the novella a meaningful act is a

religious act because it expresses one's sympathy and identification with others, with those who are enslaved, endangered and persecuted. Religion here becomes the expression of non-conformity, of the Calibans of the earth, and of those who spontaneously empathize with Calibans' suffering. No longer are people divided along lines of race, class, or institutional religion. Now people are divided into those who conform to the authority above them and those who rely on their own conscience.

The Governor, a secular man, expresses his brotherhood with the Indians through killing. Since the historical governor was a writer, Debrot here isolates the quality of character that he wished to share with the Governor – the quality of non-conformity, of a spontaneous feeling of brotherhood with those that are persecuted. In *De vervolgden*, Debrot tried to express his own longing to identify with others through his writing. *Mijn zuster* shows that in 1935 the expression of solidarity is enough. In contrast, *De vervolgden* shows that forty-five years later solidarity with others ultimately has to be expressed in action, that this expression is painful and isolating, and that one has to pay a high price for one's choice.⁸ Evil in the novella is persistent and arbitrary. The reader knows that the Indians on the island will all be exterminated, notwithstanding the momentary interference of the Governor.

De vervolgden is Debrot's Antillean answer to the Prospero-Caliban conflict.⁹ The European has to express his inner conviction through solidarity and identification with the suffering of others. One's value lies not in pigment or culture, but in the ability to act as a brother to those that are persecuted. When God is defined as solidarity and brotherhood, the Prospero-Caliban conflict is no longer a conflict. As the Caiquetíos see God in the green or purple ray of the setting sun, Debrot affirms the existence of God in man's ability to identify with the "other," with Caliban. The Governor expresses his identification in an act, as did Debrot, the diplomat. Debrot, the writer (and the historical Bejarano), expresses this solidarity in his work – an expression which in the case of Bejarano led to isolation and to the destruction of his oeuvre. Thus *De vervolgden* is the author's confession of his solidarity with the historical Bejarano and with the first Caribbeans, the Indians, who all have been murdered, whose only mementos are the rock drawings on Curaçao, Aruba, and Bonaire.

The novella is also a confirmation of Debrot's own words that "one needs to have a conviction," that man is able to recognize a brother in another person – in an enemy, a person speaking a different language, having a different skin color or a different religion (Veltman 1979: 3).

The author goes as far as to present a murderer sympathetically. *De vervolgden* gives a negative answer to the question of whether the Governor should be obedient. More than an answer, the novella is a plea for rephrasing the question into a religious one, the answer to which is expressed in an action of solidarity and brotherhood with those who suffer. As Debrot stated in 1979 while writing the novella, "the only escape from the trauma of colonialism is solidarity and friendship" (Veltman 1979: 3).

NOTES

1. All translations from Dutch into English are my own.
2. Writers making their debut in the *Antilliaanse Cahiers* include Alette Beaujon and Frank Martinus Arion.
3. In his role as major critic of Antillean literature, Debrot referred very little to his own works. One result of this was that *Mijn zuster* has not received the critical attention it deserves.
4. See also Mannoni 1964; Dudley 1973; Lamming 1984.
5. Debrot's interest in the contributions of the Indians to the culture of the Antilles is also evident from his suggestion about the importance of Indian languages in the development of Papiamentu: "The influence of the Indian languages on the later formation of Papiamentu cannot be ignored *a priori*" (Debrot 1976b: 95).
6. Personal interview, Rosa Spier Huis, Laren, The Netherlands, July 1980. In this interview, Debrot described the story that he was writing at the moment as centering on the conflict between a priest and Lázaro Bejarano, the second governor of the Antilles. He stressed that "what counts is that this governor was a poet and a humane individual in that he did not desire to control other people's thoughts and opinions. Under him, the island flourished; people enjoyed themselves and the customs of the Indians were preserved. Therefore, of course, the Catholic Church opposed him, for it wanted everyone to think the same."
7. In "Verworvenheden en leemten" Debrot considers the nineteenth-century muckrakers to be the first, though non-literary, writers of non-conformist prose in the Antilles (Debrot 1977: 129). In "Het Venezolaans-Antilliaans Antagonisme," he hints at the possibility that Lázaro Bejarano's work may actually still exist in the *Biblioteca provincial de Toledo* because Debrot's requests to that library for information about Lázaro Bejarano's work have been systematically refused (Debrot 1976b: 98).

8. Jos de Roo interprets *De vervolgden* as a veiled defense of Debrot's own actions as governor of the Antilles. De Roo writes that when, in 1969, the black workers revolted against the white power structure of the island, Debrot made their leader, Papa Godet, part of the government. This angered the established political parties so much that from then on they boycotted Debrot. De Roo concludes that "In *De vervolgden* Debrot shows that, thanks to the personal courage of the governor of Curaçao, history took a turn for the better. Similarly, Debrot's own action... has benefitted Curaçao. The black majority has gained political power" (De Roo 1983).

9. Debrot made significant changes in the historical situation of Lázaro Bejarano, which made the fictional triangle of Governor-daughter-Indian similar to Shakespeare's Prospero-Miranda-Caliban. The historical Bejarano was married to the daughter of the first governor of Curaçao; they had one child, a son, whose early death moved them deeply. As a poet, Bejarano made Curaçao into a literary center. The fictional governor, however, is a soldier and father of a grown daughter. He and his daughter mourn the death of his wife who was a poet.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Sir Francis Drake and the famous voyage, 1577-1580. NORMAN J. W. THROWER (ed.). Los Angeles: University of California Press, Contributions of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies Vol. 11, 1984. xix + 214 pp. (Cloth US\$ 28.50)

This volume of essays had its origin in the quadricentennial celebration of Sir Francis Drake's visit to California in 1579 which was observed with ceremonies in both England and California. An international conference in California held 10-17 June 1979 was the source of the essays published here under the editorship of Professor Thrower, who was president of California's Sir Francis Drake Commission.

Ten essays and a bibliography are collected here, united upon the theme of Drake and the British presence in the regions traversed in his "Famous Voyage," the circumnavigation of 1577-80, with some references to his West Indian exploits also. In the opening essay, "Drake and the World Encompassed," the late John H. Parry comments on Drake's career as a seaman, at first as a slave-trader and pirate, and after his "graduation" through the circumnavigation as a renowned officer, a national hero, indeed, a legend. The success of Drake's rise, Parry notes, was in part due to England's situation vis-à-vis Spain, and in part to his own skills, his ability to assess a situation and to improvise, and above all to manage a ship and crew. Parry states that Drake's great contribution was "the pattern of comradeship and command" which he built into British maritime tradition, establishing ability rather than social position as the only basis for command at sea.

More technical but equally authoritative and readable is David W. Waters' "Elizabethan Navigation," a survey of the mariner's skills essential to survival and success in Drake's time. Waters describes the aids to navigation, the instruments, the charts, and the books, that were then in use, many of them illustrated from contemporary exemplars, along with instructions for their use. The manuscript chart by Thomas Hood illustrated with this essay would have been more effective had a smaller area been shown, with soundings and other details readable.

David B. Quinn's essay, "Early Accounts of the Famous Voyage," gives us what we expect from Professor Quinn: a thorough bibliographical examination of the contemporary sources to which we must look for descriptions of the voyage, and the reasons for their dearth, their tone, and their limitations. Quinn offers Hakluyt's relationship with Walsingham, Drake's disgrace in 1589, and Philip Nichols or someone else as ghost writer as influences upon the sources. This makes his essay one of many fruitful conjectures. An appendix explores the origin of *Sir Francis Drake Revived*, and *The World Encompassed*, both of which appeared in the seventeenth century during hostilities between England and Spain.

"Drake and South America" by Kenneth Andrews is a thoughtful essay on motives for the "Famous Voyage" - motives that tend to be overlooked in our after-the-fact view of Britain's history in the Western Hemisphere. Andrews argues convincingly for a keen interest among English promoters in colonizing southern South America, an area not then colonized by any other nation. He examines the early part of the circumnavigation in that context, and in the light of Grenville's view that "the South is by god's providence left for England." Following Drake's return, further plans were advanced for an English commercial effort in South America, supporting Andrews' thesis. It is an interesting argument very well stated.

William A. Lessa, in "Drake in the South Seas," addresses the discrepancies within the accounts of Drake's landfalls in the western Pacific, and in the process sorts out Palau as the "island of thieves," thereby making Drake the discoverer of that island group rather than Francisco Padilla in 1710. The western voyage from Palau brought Drake to "four islands," and these Lessa believes were in fact Davao Gulf in Mindanao, with two of the islands being peninsulas. From there to the Moluccas, Drake had the pilotage of two islanders, and from this point on the South Sea voyage featured more commercial and diplomatic tensions than navigational interest, Lessa writes, more of it indicated in Spanish than in the English sources most frequently used.

Crispin Gill, in "Drake and Plymouth," considers the natural features and historical eventualities that raised Plymouth to prominence as a maritime base for distant voyages, and the family circumstances which brought the Hawkinses and Drakes there. Following the "Famous Voyage," Drake was elected mayor of Plymouth, and subsequently a member of Parliament. His influence gained an improved water supply for Plymouth, a means also of better supplying ships there.

Drake as a subject for literature is the theme of Michael J.B. Allen's essay, "Charles Fitzgeffrey's Commendatory Lamentation on the Death of Drake," and W.T. Jewkes's "Sir Francis Drake Revived." Allen analyzes Fitzgeffrey's work, arguing that its author would have made it an epic if he could have, but settled for "a biographical eulogy-elegy-epic which surveyed the glories of Drake's life in the light of the triumph of Protestantism in England." Jewkes deals with Henry Robarts and Thomas Greepe as contemporary celebrants of Drake via popular verse, and then goes on to cite the legend of Drake as a protector of England through her subsequent history, his drum being heard mysteriously at Scapa Flow, and in 1940.

In "The Cartography of Drake's Voyage," Helen Wallis ranges widely through the charts and journals, lost and extant, associated directly with the "Famous Voyage," including the Drake-Mellon world map which is handsomely reproduced in color. She comments on the impact of England's policy of secrecy upon the publications of his discoveries and corrections he could have made to existing maps. She analyzes in detail Richard Hakluyt's publications, the Molyneux Map, the Silver Map, and the map made for Queen Elizabeth as the means whereby Drake's circumnavigation came to be understood in terms of its cartographic importance, overcoming an inherent slowness in Renaissance England for map publishing.

The final essay is Norman J.W. Thrower's "The Aftermath: A Summary of British Discovery in the Pacific Between Drake and Cook." This is a brief treatment of a succession of voyages much given at first to piracy and trade, and ultimately to science, leading in the end to solutions of most of the problems of Pacific Ocean geography with Cook's three voyages.

Benjamin Draper's "A Collection of Drake: Bibliographical Items, 1569-1659" is a listing with annotations of varying lengths of 111 items relating to Drake, including published works, manuscript narratives, depositions, wills, correspondence, etc. They comprise a selection from the late Professor Draper's larger "Drake Bibliography, 1569-1979," which remains in manuscript.

The volume is well illustrated, completely indexed, and handsomely published.

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Trade, government and society in Caribbean history 1700–1920. B.W. HIGMAN (ed.). Kingston: Heinemann Educational Books, 1983. xii + 172 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.50) First published in U.S. May 1985.

An inescapable reality of essays conceived as a *festschrift* is their unevenness in scholarly quality, fuzziness in thematic problems, and irregularity in literary grace. In this respect this book of “essays presented to Douglas Hall” offers no surprise. Nevertheless, the failings are not major. The collection makes a surprisingly delightful reading experience and comprises a pleasant, informative, intellectually stimulating addition to the general Caribbean historiography. Moreover, it stands as a credit both to the pedagogical skills of Hall, a former professor and former head of the department at Mona, and to the broad interests of his former students, colleagues, and friends.

The essays range from the eighteenth century to the 1970s, providing more in chronology than the title of the book implies, and are randomly organized. The volume contains three essays dealing with trade; three dealing with politics and government; and three dealing with society. The essays on trade are Richard Sheridan, “The Slave Trade to Jamaica, 1702–1808”; Patrick Bryan, “Staple exports and the mercantile sector in the Dominican Republic, 1900–1916”; and Frank Taylor, “From Hellshire to Healthshire: The Genesis of the Tourist Industry in Jamaica.” Those on government and politics are K.O. Laurence, “Tobago and British Imperial Authority, 1793–1802”; Carl Campbell, “The opposition to Crown Colony Government in Trinidad before and after Emancipation, 1813–46”; and Woodville Marshall, “Vox Populi: The St. Vincent Riots and Disturbances of 1862.” Those on society are N.A.T. Hall, “Slavery in Three West Indian Towns: Christiansted, Fredericksted, and Charlotte Amalie in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Century”; Bridget Brereton, “The Birthday of Our Race: A Social History of Emancipation Day in Trinidad, 1838–88”; and B.W. Higman, “Domestic Service in Jamaica, since 1750.” Geographically, these essays focus on Jamaica (3), Trinidad (2), Tobago, St. Vincent, the Dominican Republic and the Danish Caribbean. Because the problems they explore are representative of the general range of Caribbean problems, these case studies have broader application than a singular island or territory, a point emphasized by neither individual authors nor the editor.

Sheridan shows that Jamaica was an important center of the English slave trade both because of its domestic market and its strategic location. Pointing out that “Jamaica was the richest colony in the

British Empire during the greater part of the eighteenth century, and the richest in the world after the slave rebellion in the French colony of Saint-Domingue in 1791," (p. 1), the author closely examines the island trade in three decades: the 1730s, the 1770s, and the 1790s. In 1775 that trade involved 639 vessels and 7,500 seamen for the international and regional aspects, with an additional 45 vessels and an unspecified number of seamen employed in the coastal trade between Kingston and the smaller outlying ports. The breakdown of the foreign trade was significant. The North American segment accounted for 47.0 percent of the traffic. The British Isles component accounted for 36.5 percent. The African segment – presumably slave ships – comprised 12.0 percent, while regional trade filled the remaining 4.5 percent. These proportions changed over time, but the composition does not reflect a reality which the author misleadingly characterizes as a "triangle." Otherwise, the essay explores the consistent and inconsistent patterns of the trade, both domestic and international, and strongly substantiates the assertion that in the 1730s, "Jamaica was probably as much a trading colony as a plantation colony" (p. 13).

An air of ambivalence permeates the examination of the essay on staple exports by Patrick Bryan. Despite an attempt to focus on the northern part of the Dominican Republic, on the tobacco growers of Santiago and the cattle ranchers of the Seibo, the author fails to distinguish these from the southern sugar producers of San Pedro de Macorís or the general traders from Santo Domingo. The importance of the regional subdivision is simply lost in the larger common picture for the nation-state. There is no rationale provided for the period, and no detailed analysis of the changing nature of international or local components of commerce.

In a similar way the focal point of Taylor's essay on the Jamaican tourist industry, despite some strained attempts at phrasemaking, remains fuzzy. Tourism began as a trade and evolved into an industry, but what was involved beyond semantic substitution is not pursued analytically.

The essays dealing with government and politics make more interesting reading, although Laurence's labored account of the Tobago planters' discomfiture at the prospect of imperial administrative changes seems an excessive effort to refute a minor point made by Eric Williams. Campbell and Marshall, by contrast, explore the nuances of social and political evolution and in so doing achieve a remarkable illumination of the reality of political organization and political action in a colonial society. Campbell makes several important observations

about the operation of Crown Colony government, indicating that among its negative consequences for political development was the tendency to illegitimize political organizations while elevating the opinions of individuals. Such a tendency restricted rather than broadened the base of government. Marshall, one of the few to place his essay in a broader regional context, links his case study of the St. Vincent riots with those of St. Lucia in 1849 and Jamaica in 1865. He asserts persuasively that the real significance of these riots lay not in terms of casualties or property damage, but rather in the fear they engendered among political leaders (eventually culminating in constitutional reforms), their patterns of action, the self-consciousness of the participants, and their overall impact on society and politics. The masses in general, and laborers in particular, had clear, strongly-held perceptions of their "rights" and the changing nature of their conditions in the decades following the abolition of legal slavery.

The essays by Brereton and Higman are the most original and innovative. Following the pattern of Higman's earlier essay (*Journal of Caribbean History*, 1979), Brereton shows that while no consensus existed during the nineteenth century over the proper public celebration of August First, the attitudes revealed a lot about the divided and divisive nature of Trinidadian society. And while it might have offered a platform for progressive Afro-Trinidadians at some time, the emergence of an East Indian majority accentuated the division over the symbolic significance of the date and the event. Higman's study of domestic service is unique. His conclusion is that in Jamaica neither industrialization nor urbanization accounted for the pattern of employment. Finally, Hall's superb essay, among the best in the volume, illustrates how the urban environment significantly affected both the quantitative and the qualitative nature of the slave society.

Altogether these essays, individually and collectively, inform their subject matter while providing a substantial basis for modifying some common misconceptions about Caribbean society, politics, diet, disease, and public conduct.

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Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700. LYLE N. MCALISTER. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion Volume III, 1984. xxvi + 585 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00, Paper US\$13.95)

1985 marked the fortieth anniversary of a milestone in Latin American historiography by North American scholars, namely publication of Bailey W. Diffie's *Latin American Civilization: The Colonial Period*. For the first time between the same covers, Portuguese America received attention equal to that devoted to Spanish America. Subsequently there was a spate of "comprehensive introductions": Hubert Herring, *A History of Latin America* (1955); Donald E. Worcester and Wendell G. Schaeffer, *The Growth and Culture of Latin America* (1956); John Edwin Fagg, *Latin America: A General History* (1963). These books, and others of their ilk, enjoyed numerous editions and reprintings, ranged "from the beginning to the present," embraced the entire region south of the Rio Grande, were voluminous (upwards of 800 pages) and were characterized by a high level of generalization and a low level of conceptualization and interpretation. During the last quinquennium, the colonial period alone has received its share of this attention. Valuable are James Lockhart and Stuart Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge, 1983) and essays in the first two volumes of *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (1984). Lyle McAlister, Distinguished Service Professor at the University of Florida, and well known for his writings on the military in New Spain, covers the same turf with at least three important differences: asymmetry in the coverage between the two empires (2 chapters exclusively on Brazil out of a total of 17); an "expansionist" perspective in which a chapter on Old World Antecedents (pp. 3-69) has no New World counterpart - not surprising when one recalls that this is but one in a projected ten-volume series entitled "Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion"; and termination in 1700, a date selected as much for dynastic change in Spain (but not in Portugal) as for changing New World realities. Finally (and this is not to demean McAlister's sensitivity to the vanquished and underprivileged), here is a history of Europeans, of Caucasians, of males, and of their impact on native Americans and transplanted Africans. So great have been changes over the last twenty years in perspectives on, and in the historiography of, colonialism, that a series conceived in 1964 has a curiously anachronistic ring in the mid-1980s.

A traditional periodization governs the three parts of *Spain and*

Portugal in the New World: 718 A.D.-1492, 1492-1570, and 1570-1700. An introductory section focuses on pre-Columbian Iberia under the general rubrics of *reconquista*, *repoblación*, and the ordering of society, of the economy, and of government in reconquest Hispania – the backcloth essential to McAlister's hypothesis that Spanish and Portuguese initiatives beyond Europe, to the Eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, and the African Atlantic, and later to the Americas, represent continuity of Hispanic antecedents. The heart of the book lies in two sections, each of some 200 pages divided into 16 chapters with respective subsections, which transport the reader from discovery to consolidation. A formative period, characterized by dynamic activity, experimentation, and creativity in Hispanic responses to New World (and European) challenges, witnessed the establishment of social norms, economic production, imperial control and exploitation. Preconditions existed for a period of consolidation. 1570-1700 were years of territorial expansion, organization of peoples, increasing dichotomy between town and countryside, control of all sectors of the economy, the ordering of society, and the establishment of royal and ecclesiastical government. A final chapter dwelling on the import of the Americas on Europe intrigues by its diversity, ranging from syphilis to Spenser, from maize to Montaigne, and from turkeys to a balanced assessment of contributions by the Chaunus and Earl Hamilton. This last flurry is somewhat disjointed, but here McAlister demonstrates his conceptual breadth roaming between biomedicine, philosophy, sociology, political theory, and economics.

Few would quibble with McAlister's choice of themes to instruct the structure and conceptualization of this work: impact of distance, terrain, and climate; overarching desire to colonize; search for balance between justice and government on the one hand and the inevitable exploitation of human and natural resources on the other; and the determination to create new societies and modes of social control, and impose values and norms which have survived to the present. These themes give unity to the volume and buttress McAlister's contention that the American experience represented temporal and spacial extension of European antecedents. But overemphasis on unity and continuity may lull the unwary into the belief that discontinuities, disunities, diversity, tensions between New World institutions, peoples, and regions, and contradictions, confrontations, and conflicts between an imperial system and American identities and aspirations were less integral to the Hispanic American historical mosaic. The author assumes the role of coordinator and presenter of facts and interpretations

reflecting recent historiography and research. This stance makes all the more welcome those occasions when McAlister appears center stage and speaks his own lines rather than being the bearer of the published works of other scholars. *How pleasant to be reminded that the Hispanic peoples were part of a western European tradition in their ordering of societies* (p. 24), or that the widely accepted view that the underdevelopment of Hispanic bourgeoisies is attributable to the Reconquest (p. 31) should be taken *cum grano salis*. McAlister states his own position as a non-Marxist in his discussion of historical dependency theory (pp. 387-90) and his own feeling that racial prejudices do derive from a "primordial" ethnocentrism of peoples in his treatment of race, color, and class (pp. 418-22). He is eminently fair in his coverage of such potential sandtraps as the size of pre- and post-conquest indigenous populations (pp. 83-85, 118-21), the volume and natural increase of European immigrants (pp. 109-17), and estimates of the slave trade (pp. 121-24), or in his summary of the birth and evolution of the *encomienda* (pp. 157-66). McAlister does not court (but neither does he shy from) scholarly disagreements or disputations, preferring to identify problems, isolate component issues, and explain and clarify.

This is a highly effective work of synthesis at an affordable price. The maps, tables, and index are useful. Bibliographical essays for each chapter are comprehensive. The reader in search of specialized items, in-depth discussion of historiographical minutiae, or substantiation of data, will be more than satisfied with the footnotes. Not only is *Spain and Portugal in the New World* comprehensive in its treatment, but it is a handy and sturdy textbook for undergraduate courses on early Hispanic America. Students and professors interested in comparative colonialism in the Americas will find here an interesting counterpoise to the English or French experiences north of the Rio Grande. Both in the Antillean phase of settlement and after the conquest of Mexico, the Caribbean was essential to linkage between Spain and the New World by the *carrera de Indias*. For Caribbeanists, this volume holds special interest, placing in a broader context Spanish colonization in the Caribbean as well as contrasting this with colonization of the Antilles by Northern Europeans. This textbook's value is not limited to historians. Students of political science, political economy, international relations, and sociology could, by turning to the pages of history, reach a better understanding of how contemporary events and the political, social, and economic diversity of Latin America have their roots in the past, and better appreciate the distinctiveness between Portuguese-speaking America and Spanish-speaking America, as well as among

the republics which have emerged from that entity which was Spanish America.

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The social and political thought of the colonial intelligentsia. JOHN GAFFAR LA GUERRE. Mona, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1982. 136 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.00)

The contents of this book are much more modest than the grandiose title would suggest. The work is in fact a somewhat limited inquiry into the political thought of three persons – J.E. Casely-Hayford of the Gold Coast (Ghana), George Padmore of Trinidad, and C.L.R. James, also of Trinidad. The author asserts, but does not demonstrate, that these three men are somehow representative of the wider “colonial intelligentsia.” Hayford, he says, was a “liberal-constitutionalist.” Padmore was allegedly a Fabian socialist. C.L.R. James is a “pure” socialist.

Though published in 1982 the work is based on the author’s 1970 Ph.D. dissertation. If the dissertation has undergone any extensive revision, the author does not say so. Indications are that it has not. The bibliography is limited and out of date. Primary sources are at a minimum.

The author treats each of his three subjects in turn, beginning with Hayford and ending with James. For the most part he selects the major writings of each and then proceeds from book to book, summarizing and commenting as he goes along, somewhat in the manner of an extended annotated bibliography. Along the way he manages to include tidbits of interesting and useful information. There is also a fair amount of incorrect information and some oversimplification of complex issues. For example, he is wrong on the suggested lack of West African and Afro-American intellectual support for Marcus Garvey. (His own information contradicts this assertion.) Nor was George Padmore “introduced to Nkrumah” at the 1945 Pan-African Congress in Manchester (p. 68); Padmore and Nkrumah collaborated in the planning of the event. And the fact that some British officials in the

Gold Coast seemed to advocate the retention of "native institutions" (for their own peculiar motives of antagonizing the Western educated element) did not make them Black nationalists (p. 14).

In the case of Hayford (and for Padmore as well), La Guerre plunges into a discussion of the man's ideas without situating him in a context within which to properly evaluate those ideas. There is no biographical sketch, no systematic overview of the Ghanaian, West African, and Pan-African contexts against which La Guerre tries to evaluate him. (Hayford flourished in the late nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth. He was a journalist, author, and politician and maintained extensive contact with Pan-Africanists in the West Indies, Afro-America, Africa, and elsewhere. He was a principal organizer of the National Congress of British West Africa, which first met in 1920.)

The author's lack of primary research is especially evident here. He mentions, but seems to have done no real in-depth work in, the several newspapers with which Hayford was associated. The *Gold Coast Leader* alone (easily accessible on microfilm) would have benefited the study greatly. (La Guerre mentions only three issues of this paper in his bibliography.) The same is true of other newspapers throughout ex-British West Africa.

La Guerre is largely correct on George Padmore's struggles with the problems of class and race. Padmore left Trinidad in 1924, became a student activist in the United States, joined the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (CPUSA), and had a brief but spectacular career as a high Comintern functionary in Europe. The pull of race and disenchantment with Comintern opportunism ended his association with the Communist International. Here as elsewhere, however, La Guerre is only incompletely aware of the context within which his subject operated. His chronology of the development of the CPUSA's line on the Afro-American struggle is incorrect. He seems (at least in chapter 5) to be unaware of the extensive discussions that took place at successive Comintern congresses in Moscow on the so-called "Negro question." These discussions culminated in major pronouncements, coming out of the 1928 congress, on self-determination for the "Black Belt" in the southern United States. La Guerre hints at this elsewhere in the book (p. 128), but his major discussion of "Padmore, Communism and the Negro" (chapter 5) strangely suggests no knowledge of all this. In fact, he suggests (p. 60, n. 27) that the Trotskyists gave far more consideration to the race question than did the Moscow-oriented communists. This may or may not be true, but for La Guerre it simply means that his research among the Trotskyist documents was a little more adequate.

The section on C.L.R. James is the most satisfying. In his long career, James has been journalist, Trotskyist theoretician, leader of sectarian Marxist groupings, politician, and much more. His abiding interest in the race question has, however, never caused him to subordinate race to class, as La Guerre correctly indicates.

In this section the author allows himself to go some distance beyond the major works, and he examines some of the more ephemeral writings, which, for James, are both numerous and important. Here for once there is a useful sketch of his subject's life and the Trinidadian context which molded him. The fact that James was also the subject of La Guerre's M.A. thesis seems to explain the more adequate treatment. Even this section, however, still does not progress very far beyond the extended annotated bibliography format. Nor was there any apparent attempt to interview James or any of his political associates and adversaries, many of whom were alive in 1970 (and in 1982).

It is perhaps unfortunate for the author that the strongest section of his book is the one that may have been most overwhelmed by new publications. Several new works of James have appeared in recent years, including collections of earlier, difficult-to-find writings. James' pamphleteering and magazine writing have continued and an extensive bibliography of his works is now available. (La Guerre actually mentions one or two of the recent works in his bibliography, though there is no evidence that he incorporated any information from them.)

The Social and Political Thought of the Colonial Intelligentsia is uneven in quality. Nowhere does it *systematically* delineate the main components of the thought of its three main subjects. It seldom rises beyond the level of an extended annotated bibliography. There is scope for much more research. And, in a book which capitalizes nearly everything from "Indirect Rule" to "District Commissioners," it is most disconcerting to find people of African descent still being referred to as "negroes," complete with a lower case "n".

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Kinship ideology and practice in Latin America. RAYMOND T. SMITH (ed.). Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1984. 341 pp. (Cloth US\$ 29.95)

This volume examines the influence of specifically Latin American culture upon kinship and family relations. In his introduction, R.T. Smith discusses several themes that weave through the book's eleven essays. The most important of these themes concerns the need, in studies of Latin America, to pay attention "to the peculiarity of the historically generated cultural forms characteristic of this area, and to the social practices through which those forms operate in the specific conditions of contemporary society" (p. 4). This emphasis on the distinctive and broadly common historical genesis of contemporary Latin American societies provides the rationale for the inclusion of two essays on the anglophone Caribbean. It is unfortunate that in his introduction Smith did not pursue programmatically the implications of shared historical experience for the emergence and character of distinctively Latin American culture and kinship organization rather than repeat criticisms of the study of kinship that one has the impression of having read before. As it is, his essay tantalizes much as it satisfies.

The book is divided into four parts. Part One, "Kinship Ideology in Slave Societies," opens with an essay in which Stephen Gudeman and Stuart B. Schwartz relate data on slave baptisms in two Bahian parishes to more general features of plantation society. They contend that the absence of any recorded cases in which masters served as godparents for their slaves challenges the view that paternalism was the glue of plantation society. This reflects what they regard as an insoluble contradiction at both the level of cultural meaning and of social practice between the symmetrical spiritual relationship of godparenthood and the asymmetrical property relationship of slavery. In addition, by tracing the connections between legal status, color, and baptismal sponsorship, they elucidate the subtleties of status in plantation society. In the next essay, B.W. Higman examines British West Indian court records of slave testimonies in order to see what they disclose of the slaves' vision of kinship in their communities. This essay raises important questions concerning the interpretation of slave kinship from documentary evidence. Higman's data also lead him to question the view that slaves regarded masters as patriarchs (p. 69).

Part Two, "Establishing Colonial Hierarchies," begins with Enrique Mayer's "ethnographic reconstruction" of Andean household organi-

zation during the early period of consolidation of power by the Spanish. This article includes an intriguing elaboration of a *visita* interview in which Mayer combines documentary evidence and his understanding of contemporary Andean culture. By this means he hopes to make comprehensible and immediate to the reader Andean peasants' experience of events four centuries ago. The theme of *compadrazgo* recurs in Juan M. Ossio's essay, this time in order to demonstrate the continuities of cultural meaning between pre-Hispanic practices and the contemporary Andean institution. He argues that Andean baptismal, or "spiritual," *compadrazgo* is a culture-specific recasting of a Western institution. The essay amply proves this point and offers suggestive criticisms of more general discussions of godparenthood. Unfortunately, his data and analysis do not justify his more ambitious conclusion that *compadrazgo* in Andean Society stands as an indicative case of the vitality of a sociocultural system that incorporates foreign institutions, yet permits them to remain mere forms with a content completely different from what they had originally been (p. 143). Jack Alexander's cultural analysis of the middle-case Jamaican family concludes Part Two. He relates the historically derived contemporary significance of love, race, sexuality, and slavery to the cultural domain of kinship, and suggests that the middle-class image of the family enables it to solve the problem of its legitimate place in a colonial society.

Mexican kinship is the theme of two of the essays in Part Three, "Hierarchies and Enterprise: The Use of Kinship in Adversity and Prosperity." Larissa A. Lomnitz and Marisol Pérez-Lizaur trace the relationship between social class, reciprocity, and expressions of solidarity among Mexican three-generation "grand-families." They allege that while the nature of reciprocity among "grand-family" members differs according to the resources at the family's disposal, the values which solidarity comprises remain constant across social class. Likewise, Guillermo de la Peña sees changes in kinship organization in southern Jalisco over the past century as the product of transformations and manipulations of kinship ideology in specific class and occupational contexts. In contrast to these articles' implicit and sometimes explicit functionalism, Ruth C.L. Cardoso's brief, insightful discussion of child fosterage among Brazilian slum dwellers places social meaning squarely at its center. She demonstrates convincingly that adoption reveals the significance to the urban poor of socialization as well as consanguinity in their definition of kinship and that it cannot be reduced to a strategic response to economic conditions.

All three essays in Part Four, "Sex Roles and Economic Change", examine the interface between socioeconomic change, culture, and ideology. In an inventive and stimulating article on colonial New Mexico, Gutierrez shows that the increased importance of individual preference over considerations of family honor in spouse selection and a concomitant change in the notion of love from illicit sex to a binding emotion accompanied New Mexico's integration into the market economy and the emergence of a capitalist productive system. The next essay, by Verena Stolcke, relates transformations in sex role definition and family organization to the transition from contracted family labor to temporary wage labor in Brazilian coffee plantations. She details the interplay between assumptions about the sexual division of labor within the nuclear family and the organization of plantation labor. She concludes that proletarianization has unleashed contradictions at the ideological and cultural level which have increased the exploitation of women and marginalized men at the same time that they have decreased overall labor productivity. The impact of culturally constituted gender ideology on women's access to and control over property is the topic of Fiona Wilson's concluding paper. It contends that in order to protect their class position during the nineteenth century, elite families in the Peruvian Central Andes distinguished in practice between men's and women's property and that property ownership conferred different and unequal statuses on men and women.

As this brief review indicates, this book contains articles covering an impressive range of methodological, theoretical, and historical issues. Along with its companion volume, the 1978 special issue of *The Journal of Family History* dedicated to *The Family in Latin America, Kinship Ideology and Practice in Latin America* should encourage further research into the region's ideological and cultural systems, topics about which there is scant information at present.

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Nelson's blood: the story of naval rum. JAMES PACK. Annapolis MD, U.S.A.: Naval Institute Press AND Havant Hampshire, U.K.: Kenneth Mason, 1982. 200 pp. (Cloth US\$ 14.95)

Rum: yesterday and today. HUGH BARTY-KING & ANTON MASSEL.

London: William Heinemann, 1983. xviii + 264 pp. (Cloth US\$ 19.95, £ 10.00. Distributed in the United States by David and Charles, North Pomfret VT 05053.)

When last did you pick up a book just for the fun of it and learn a great deal about your society in the process? Either of these books will do just that; together they will reward you richly.

The word rum comes either from the Latin *saccharum*, meaning sugar (which in turn is derived from the Arab *sukkar*), or from the seventeenth-century plantation word for it, "rumbustion." In either case its source is the juice of the sugar cane. As a spirit it invariably got a bad rap; the early Spaniards characterized it as *ron peleon*, the English colonists knew it as kill-devil; certain bigoted North Americans made the association of "rum, rebellion and Romanism," and Winston Churchill spoke of a Royal Naval trilogy of "rum, sodomy and the lash." No matter – by 1981 it was the largest selling spirit in the world, with one manufacturer (Bacardi) alone accounting for 828,000 cases of the fermented and distilled *sukkar*. So even as the prime producers of cane sugar appear unable to survive or at least be solvent in the 1980s, its derivative is enormously popular and profitable. From the overproof "strong rum" of the British West Indian working classes to the appetite-opening *ti ponche* of the French West Indians, rum continues to hold its four-centuries-old place in the ceremonial and aesthetic life of the Caribbean. Everywhere, the true connoisseur still prefers his rum neat, a one ounce measure swished down in one gulp, savoring and also judging it by the smoothness and mellowness in the mouth and throat and by its "afterglow." This is the West Indian "grog," and while most "groggers" tend to know that it in fact had its origin in the British Navy, they know little else about its history. This is where the breezy and informative little book by A.J. Pack is of real interest and value: it details the origins and evolution of the traditions and rituals of grog. First known as "Nelson's blood," it eventually took on the name grog after Admiral Edward Vernon (known to his men as "Old Grogman") instituted it as a daily ceremony in 1740. Coming over one hundred years before the issuing of the standard navy uniform for seamen (1858), the issuing of the "tots" – with the sailors having to drink it down on deck in the presence of the Lieutenant of the Watch – became the longest lasting naval tradition. But, of course even that good thing could not last forever. Already in 1914 the U.S. Secretary of the Navy banned it in this country's navy because, as he put it, "both

temperance and democracy demand it." The British blue jackets held out longer but on 1 August 1970 ("Black Tot Day" to the loyalists) it was abolished, and with it went the daily routine pipe, "Up Spirits."

Pack, a retired Royal Navy Captain, lived long enough to experience the grog and its replacement with canned beer. He treats his subject with affection but no undue romanticism. The shift from manpower to brainpower in the modern navy can hardly afford men lining up daily to imbibe a grog. And, yet, a custom that lasted for centuries must have had its redeeming features, and these Pack records with the conviction and flair of one who lived through its final phases.

With this historical background, any reader not an ardent proselytiser of "tea, temperance, and tee totalism" will want to pursue the subject further. Should that be the case, no better and more comprehensive tome exists than Hugh Barty-King and Anton Massel, *Rum: Yesterday and Today*. While it repeats much of what Captain Pack records, it goes well beyond Pack in its treatment of the very early years in the Caribbean, the North American, Russian, and Australian traditions, the prohibition years of "rum running" (of mostly scotch and gin), and the "science of rum making." There are specific sections on the rums of a score of countries, marketing strategies and rum recipes; there are beautiful illustrations, a useful bibliography and a substantial index. In other words, a veritable encyclopedia of the stuff.

These are welcome works to the *aficionado*, who is all too aware that the independent rum manufacturer catering to regional tastes is an endangered species. Two multinational giants – Bacardi and Seagrams – are gobbling them up. The unsuspecting experimenter might not know that the expensive Myers' Gold or White comes from exactly the same distillate as Ron Llave or Palo Viejo, which sell for dollars less.

But this marketing slight of hand is only part of the rum scene today for it is not inconceivable that eventually rum will be rum with differences only of labels, colors, prices, and whatever else the genius of merchandizing can concoct. That will be "Black Tot Day" indeed for those who know their grog.

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Latin journey: Cuban and Mexican immigrants in the United States. ALEJANDRO PORTES & ROBERT L. BACH. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985. xxi + 387 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00)

This is undoubtedly one of the most important books on contemporary immigration to the United States, and should become required reading for any scholar on the subject. The book is far more than a careful analysis of Cuban and Mexican migration to the United States in the last decade. Although the study contains a wealth of empirical data, collected through repeated interviews over a six-year period from 1973 to 1979, the authors situate these data squarely within the context of the current debate regarding the application of assimilationist theories based on the experiences of earlier European immigrants to these contemporary Latino newcomers.

The authors, Alejandro Portes and Robert Bach, both sociologists and widely recognized experts in the field of immigration, challenge conventional immigration theory on several counts: the origins and stability of immigration flows, the uses of immigrant labor, the determinants of socioeconomic mobility among immigrant groups and immigrant social adaptation. The book is organized to reflect these central arguments. The opening chapter is an excellent discussion of the various theoretical approaches to migration, counterposing orthodox consensus theories based on push-pull and gradual assimilation, with newer theories based on segmented labor markets both at the national and international level. The second chapter is a historical overview of immigration to the United States from 1880 to 1979, focusing on different modes of labor incorporation, while the third chapter contrasts the history of Cuban and Mexican immigration to the United States and outlines the research design of the recent study. Because of the importance given to immigration as a process, the authors felt it was critical to obtain a longitudinal view of immigrant adaptation, which consisted of a series of interviews with follow-up samples of Cuban and Mexican immigrants in 1973, 1976, and 1979. The sample, numbering originally 1412 respondents, consisted in both cases of adult male legal immigrants who entered the United States in 1973-74. The results of this massive amount of data are presented in the succeeding chapters, which discuss the social origins of Cuban and Mexican immigrants, their different modes of labor market incorporation, including the formation of the Cuban enclave in Miami, and their social adaptation, focusing on their attitude toward the United States and the ethnic nature of their social ties. The book ends with a brief conclusion on immigration theory and its practical implications.

Rather than attempt to summarize their arguments here, I shall focus on three salient issues which are critical in the current debate over immigration theory, namely the difference between political and economic migrants; the enclave as a distinct mode of immigrant incorporation; and assimilation vs. ethnic resilience. In each of these areas, Portes and Bach stress the importance of structural factors in understanding the causes and consequences of immigration flows over the individual personal characteristics normally emphasized in orthodox immigration theory. They do not dismiss the effect of individual characteristics, but argue that this effect varies by both ethnic group and employment sector.

For example, although Cubans and Mexicans are considered prototypical of political and economic migrants respectively, the differences between them in occupation, income, and social adaptation cannot be subsumed under these categories. In fact, in both cases, the origins of the migration flow can be seen to be both political and economic. Although massive Cuban migration to the United States began with the coming to power of Fidel Castro in January 1959, Portes and Bach contend that Cuban refugees cannot be seen as leaving only for political reasons, but rather that their exodus has economic roots in the socio-economic dislocations brought on by the revolution and affecting specific sectors of the Cuban population. Similarly, although Mexican immigrants leave primarily for economic reasons, their economic difficulties also stem in part from political decisions made by the Mexican government in terms of development plans which have tended to benefit certain segments of Mexican society at the expense of others.

Portes and Bach demonstrate that in neither case do these immigrants represent the most impoverished sectors of their society, as is commonly assumed in push-pull theories of migration. By a careful analysis of immigrants' occupational, educational, and residential history prior to migration, the authors show that Mexican legal immigrants come from above-average occupational, educational, and income backgrounds, originating mostly in the growing urban service and manufacturing sectors of the Mexican economy. Cuban immigrants, on the other hand, while lower in status than the elite landowners, businessmen, and professionals who preceded them, came primarily from the middle-level, petty-commercial sector of the Cuban economy. While both groups are clearly heterogeneous, the authors appear to minimize the importance of these class differences in the subsequent adaptations of Cuban and Mexican immigrants to the

United States, particularly in the formation of the Cuban enclave in Miami.

The viability of the ethnic enclave as a distinct mode of immigrant adaptation is clearly demonstrated. After only six years, fully one-fifth of the Cuban sample were self-employed while another large segment work in these Cuban firms. The enclave serves both the needs of their own ethnic market and the general Miami population in areas such as retail trade, business and repair services, professional services, and construction. While the differences in background characteristics between these self-employed entrepreneurs and wage workers is not great, the former do appear to come from slightly higher socio-economic status and to have started working with Cuban entrepreneurs, a factor the authors deem crucial in the development of the Cuban enclave. They argue that one reason Cubans are willing to work for Cuban employers (often at lower wages and for longer hours) is the opportunity this presents to learn the business and move into self-employment on their own, an advantage presumably not offered by Anglo employers. It is the lack of such opportunities for self-employment in the Mexican community in the United States which prevents the formation of an enclave, and forces Mexican immigrants into the secondary and lower tiers of the primary labor market. However, I would argue that pocket enclaves may be found among Mexican, Puerto Rican, or other predominantly labor migrants to the United States, not on the scale of Miami, but in small communities with middle-class migrants more similar in class background to the Cubans studied here. (These enclaves are not to be confused with the ethnic communities common to most recent immigrants.) In short, along with Portes and Bach, I would reject orthodox theories that assume a homogeneous, openly competitive labor market among immigrants, but would suggest that the enclave as a distinct mode of incorporation may also be found among other immigrant groups of middle-class background, although on a smaller scale. This is an area that warrants further research.

Portes and Bach also reject conventional assimilation theory, which posits gradual integration into U.S. society as migrants stay longer and acquire greater knowledge of English and American society and as their socio-economic status more closely approximates the middle-class American norm. In fact, their results totally contradict orthodox assimilation theory, since in their sample, it is precisely the immigrants with these characteristics who perceive greater discrimination in U.S. society and who tend to preserve closer ties with their own ethnic community. In the Cuban case, this may be explained by the existence

of the enclave, which tends to recruit the most socially mobile members of the community, but also limits contact with persons outside the ethnic group. In fact, it could be argued that the enclave is an expression of ethnic resilience, and a reaction to perceived discrimination in the larger society. Among Mexican immigrants, however, the *barrio* takes the place of the enclave as the major structural support of ethnic boundaries, and as the focal point of ethnic resilience. This suggests that some Mexican immigrants of higher socio-economic status are remaining within the *barrio*, perhaps to preserve ethnic ties, and not moving to Anglo or mixed neighborhoods in the proportions that conventional assimilation theory would have predicted.

In short, by indicating the importance of structural factors, Portes and Bach are able to show that individual characteristics are not the sole determinants of the causes and consequences of immigration, as orthodox theory assumed. While their analysis is extremely thorough and exacting, it could be argued that their sample still represents a limited segment of both the Cuban and Mexican immigrant community. A large segment of the Mexican community consists of undocumented migrants, who come from much lower socio-economic backgrounds than the legal immigrants studied here. This study looks at one wave of Cuban immigrants, who clearly differ from the earlier wave of elite refugees or the later wave from Mariel, many of whom are products of the revolution. In addition, the sample studied are only adult men, and we are still lacking a comprehensive study of Hispanic female immigrants. Nevertheless, this is a pathbreaking, comprehensive study which should challenge orthodox theory and establish the validity of structural variables in the analysis of contemporary immigration.

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Family portrait with Fidel: a memoir. CARLOS FRANQUI. New York: Random House, 1984. xxiii + 263 pp. (Cloth US\$ 17.95)

Given Carlos Franqui's direct, earthy, irreverent style, any work of his will be an interesting and entertaining read. *Family Portrait With Fidel* is no exception. It is the story of Franqui's own disillusionment. Though a convinced revolutionary, Franqui was – and is – first and

foremost a Latin American nationalist. Thus, while he had no love for what he regarded as the monster of U.S. imperialism, neither did he wish to see Cuba fall under a Marxist/Leninist dictatorship; rather, he wanted to see it go its own way, inclining neither to Washington nor to Moscow. Franqui had been involved with the Communist Party as an idealistic teenager and hadn't liked what he saw. Further, the Communists had hidden under the bed while the 26th of July movement battled the Batista regime. Franqui was determined never to let them forget it. His disillusionment began when he realized that Fidel, for the sake of political expedience, *was* willing to forget it. Franqui broke with Fidel in 1964 and since 1968 has been living in exile in Italy.

Whether or not one agrees with his original principles, it is to Franqui's credit that he has remained true to them. This is not the usual "defector's story," in which the young leftist boy from the country sees the light and becomes the darling of the right-wing establishment. No. Having begun a leftist revolutionary, Franqui remains one, vehemently declaring not only his disenchantment with the government in Havana but his hatred of Miami and the counterrevolutionaries who live there.

Franqui's disillusionment is sincere, even moving. That makes for a fascinating book. It is, however, one which must be used with care, for Franqui's facts and version of events are often questionable. That is most especially so when he deals with his own role. Like so many others who have followed a cause and then left it, he imagines that he saw things with a clarity which may in fact have been lacking at the time, and imagines that he expressed disagreement when, rather, he was still following the line. Franqui, for example, mentions the trial of Huber Matos in October of 1959 and suggests that he, Franqui, identified with Matos (pp. 54-55). Over the next two years, he says, *Revolución*, the newspaper Franqui directed, was true to the ideas of Huber Matos and other non-Communist revolutionaries. Maybe, but one would certainly not have sensed any identification with Matos in *Revolución's* coverage of the affair. Quite the contrary, it scathingly condemned him as a counter-revolutionary.

In the same vein, Franqui now ridicules the legend of "the Twelve" (the twelve guerillas who survived and made their way into the Sierra Maestra mountains with Fidel in 1956), suggesting it was nothing more than an effort on Fidel's part to encourage a comparison with Christ and the disciples. He may well be right, but this new view stands in stark contrast to that which he put forward in the 1960s. Then, Franqui himself not only accepted the myth but was one of its most energetic

propagandists, having even written a book entitled *The Twelve*.

Franqui may change his mind, of course, but he should acknowledge to the reader that his present view represents such a change and explain why he made it. Otherwise, the reader has no way of forming a judgment as to whether Franqui was right then, or now. Obviously he can't have been right on both occasions.

The book is also filled with internal contradictions. In one paragraph (p. 16), for example, he tells us that Fidel refused to give his seal of approval to Franqui's newspaper, *Revolución*. Yet, a few paragraphs later, Franqui refers to *Revolución* as the official publication of the 26th of July movement. But how could it have been the movement's official publication without the endorsement of the movement's leader, Fidel Castro? Franqui doesn't say.

The question of Castro's conversion to Communism is a key one, but one which Franqui treats with a certain insouciance. On one page (154) he suggests that the conversion began while Castro was in prison (i.e., about 1954). On other pages (157-58), however, he tells us that Castro's link with the Communists began in 1957 when he gave his brother command of the second front in Oriente province - "knowing full well that Raul was a Communist." On still another page (67) he says that 1960 was the turning point. It is not impossible that Franqui is right on all counts, but one really cannot know that from what he presents here. One is left wishing the real turning point would please stand up.

And then there is the allegation that Fidel himself shot down Major Robert Anderson's U-2 during the 1962 missile crisis. This is an old and almost certainly apocryphal story, but Franqui's version is even more contradictory - and bizarre - than most. He first asserts categorically that Cubans couldn't enter the Soviet missile bases. Not even the Cuban *comandantes* were allowed in, he tells us. "The territory - the 'sister bases' - where the installations were being constructed was off limits to all Cubans" (p. 187).

But a few pages later (193), Franqui says Castro suddenly hopped into his jeep one afternoon and drove out to one of the bases unannounced. The Soviet generals not only admitted him but gave him a tour of the base. And, you guessed it, just as Fidel was passing one of the anti-aircraft missile sites, the radar screen showed an American U-2 overhead. Fidel asked the Soviets how to fire the missile and they trustingly showed him which button to push. Fidel instantly pushed it, downing the U-2. According to Franqui: "The Russians were flabbergasted, but Fidel simply said, 'Well, now we'll see if there's a war or not.' "

Franqui gives no explanation as to how Castro drove onto a base from which all Cubans, including Fidel, were excluded. Further, while he asks us on the one hand to believe it was all pure coincidence, that Castro just happened to be there at the precise moment the U-2 passed over, on the other Franqui insinuates that Castro went to the base with the purpose of shooting it down. Castro didn't like ambiguity, Franqui tells us, and so decided to bring things to a head. Before leaving for the base, he allegedly assured Franqui, "Now I'm going to find out if they'll invade or not."

In other words, we are supposed to believe that Castro went out to the base somehow knowing a U-2 would be passing over and that he would have an opportunity to push the red button, thus seeing if the Americans could be provoked into a war.

It is really too far-fetched a story to believe. The story itself may be unimportant but its implications for the accuracy and seriousness of Franqui as a relater of events cannot be overlooked. If this is representative of the way he remembers things, one must read the rest of the book, however enjoyably, with a skeptical eye.

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Revolutionary Cuba: the challenge of economic growth with equity.
CLAES BRUNDENIUS. Boulder CO: Westview Press and London: Heinemann, 1984. xvi + 224 pp. (Cloth US\$ 22.00)

It is a plausible argument that anyone wishing to engage in research about revolutionary Cuba must possess several special attributes in addition to the usual array of scholarly talents. A short list would include perseverance, superior puzzle-solving ability, and a tolerance of controversy. In the last few years, Claes Brundenius has joined the small band of hardy souls who pretend to have the credentials necessary to tackle this thorny topic. In general, Brundenius' work is commendable if for no other reason than that it introduces a different perspective from that prevailing among mainstream North American academic analysts, including this reviewer.

In this book, Brundenius contends that Cuba has successfully implemented a growth-with-equity strategy. With the help of clearly identi-

fied economic and social indicators (mostly self-constructed) and buttressed by previously unpublished statistical data collected in the island, the author offers a detailed quantitative base for evaluating Cuba's performance in economic growth, employment creation, income redistribution, and the meeting of basic needs. The concluding chapter analyzes the Cuban record within a comparative Latin American context.

In overall terms, the basic theme is carefully developed and controversial points are tightly argued. In addition, there are many innovative, if risky, attempts to piece together the facts about Cuba's elusive economic reality. However, at several critical junctures, the book suffers from serious methodological shortcomings in the measurement of economic and social indicators, superficial treatment of important causal factors, and lapses in the exclusion of more appropriate explanatory variables. In fact, there appears to be a discernible trend toward weaker methods, findings, and conclusions as the chapters unfold. Given the space constraint, selective examples will have to suffice to illustrate the above concerns.

Brundenius' most impressive contribution is to be found in his estimates of Cuban economic growth for the period 1959-1981. However, insufficient recognition is given to the problems stemming from his decision to use inconsistent time-series data and to combine several index-number methodologies in generating his estimates. In this connection, it is important to note that contrary to the author's assertion concerning the greater availability of official Cuban data, a key 1,600-page Cuban-compiled statistical abstract (Pérez 1979: 1-2) containing the reconstruction of the historical series of principal economic indicators from 1960 to 1975 remains inaccessible to foreign scholars.

The degree of confidence placed in Brundenius' estimates of Cuban performance in the area of basic needs, income redistribution, and structural economic change must, in my view, be inferior to that accorded to his growth calculations. Brundenius' development of a basic-needs index for Cuba is fraught with heroic assumptions and methodological pirouettes, especially in the clothing and housing sectors. In addition, there is no discussion of the quality aspect of the growth in educational spending or of its effectiveness in meeting the country's human resources needs. Even a casual reading of the Cuban press after 1975 would provide clear evidence of official concern about such issues. In the health area, several persistent urban-rural differences in key indices are not captured by the author's estimates. For

example, the relative infant-mortality rates between some rural provinces (e.g., Las Tunas, Granma, and Guantánamo) and the city of Havana actually deteriorated by at least 22 percent between 1970 and 1980 (Roca 1984: 239). Along this vein, when Brundenius finds (p. 112) that provincial differences in consumption levels are greater than income differentials, there is scarcely any discussion of this key point or of its impact upon his claim of increased regional distributive equity.

The assertions concerning Cuba's greater economic diversification, increased industrialization, and diminished external vulnerability (pp. 119-20) are also difficult to accept. Where are the palpable results of structural economic change? In increased consumer goods for domestic consumption? In exports of manufactured products? Was Cuba invulnerable from the commodity-price plunge of the 1980s? Is Havana immune to the foreign-debt crisis of today? When a single product (sugar) still accounts for over 80 percent of export earnings, it is adventurous to proclaim much progress toward self-sufficiency. In sum, serious questions may be raised about the validity of Brundenius' estimates of Cuban socio-economic performance.

When it comes to analysis, admittedly an area in which criticism is triggered by more subjective standards, there is a disturbing tendency to minimize (indeed, sometimes to ignore altogether) the importance of key variables. For instance, Brundenius' presentation of the history of revolutionary economic policy-making (Chapter 3) is quite unsatisfactory. There is scant treatment of the political-ideological factors so decisive in determining the paths followed in the late 1960s. References to Fidel Castro, by most accounts the pivotal decision-maker, are limited to ten instances (mostly related to events of 1959-1961) in over one-hundred pages of text. The issue of the renewed reliance on material incentives and enhanced labor union participation in the 1970s receives only passing and uncritical mention.

Furthermore, on the crucial argument that Cuba is now less vulnerable to international economic fluctuations, Brundenius fails to recognize the breadth and depth of Havana's dependence on Moscow. It is widely agreed that the annual Soviet economic subsidy (excluding military aid) amounts to one-quarter of Cuban gross domestic output. When Cuba's socio-economic record is glowingly contrasted within the Latin American context, it may be instructive to ponder the likelihood of the duplication of Soviet largesse toward any other potential client state. In this connection, the cases of Chile, Costa Rica, and Uruguay may have yielded more appropriate comparisons than Brundenius' choices (i.e., Brazil, Mexico, and Peru).

Finally, there are some minor factual errors in the book. For example, Castro became prime minister in February (not January) 1959 and the 1980 Mariel exodus encompassed about 125,000 (rather than 146,000) people.

In sum, for producing an ambitious volume on a difficult topic, Brundenius must be commended. But the effort is flawed in several aspects and in different degrees, in large measure independently of personal proclivities.

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La migración española de 1939 y los inicios del marxismo-leninismo en la República Dominicana. BERNARDO VEGA. Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1984. 208 pp. (Paper n.p. Copies may be obtained at the publisher's address: Apartado 1265, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.)

The main objective of the private Fundación Cultural Dominicana, headed by the economist, archaeologist and historian Bernardo Vega, is to publish documents from the U.S. federal archives relating to the history of the Dominican Republic from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. As a first – and truly impressive – step, a series of 31 volumes entitled “Los Estados Unidos y Trujillo” is in progress of which three volumes (corresponding to the years 1945-47) have been published so far. During his archival research, Vega concluded that some important themes, covering several years, deserve separate treatment. The book under discussion is the first one on such a broader theme.

It deals with one of the intriguing paradoxes of Trujillo's dictatorship. Just as his régime allowed European Jews to settle in the country at a time when very few alternatives remained open to them, so also in 1939, some 3000 Spanish Republican refugees were admitted at a moment when most Latin American countries (with the exception of Chile, Mexico and, later, Venezuela) had closed their doors for them. The Dominican government hoped to engage most of these migrants in agriculture, especially in "agrarian colonies" along the border with Haiti, but this policy proved a failure since most of them were of urban middle-class origins who could not – unlike their Jewish counterparts, who came from similar strata yet founded a prosperous agrarian community in Sosúa – adapt themselves. Most of them left the country within the next four years. But during that interval their impact on their host society was very impressive indeed. They greatly contributed to a renaissance of Dominican painting, sculpture, and letters; they invigorated academic research and journalism; some of them achieved important positions in the country's bureaucracy; and, finally, political militants among them may be credited with propagating socialist thought in a society where, compared to the rest of Latin America, such propagation – whether clandestinely or otherwise – had been virtually non-existent. Vega's book only deals with the political contribution of the Spanish refugees: the history of their other activities in the Dominican Republic (and, indeed, elsewhere in Latin America) remains to be written. Within these limits the book gives a lively account of an internally divided group of activists of whom the communists organized themselves superbly, the socialists rather less so, and the anarchists, predictably, the worst. All of them were more or less tolerated by the régime as long as their activities were directed against Spain, but compelled to leave the country as soon as they started to foment strikes among Dominican sugar workers or got involved with local opposition groups.

The biographies Vega provides us with include devoted high-ranking officials of the Spanish parties of the left, as well as corruptible soldier-adventurers; quite a few are not easily subsumed under either category. Within the paradoxical framework of Spanish Republicans who ingeniously combined their ideological opposition to Franco with intermittent inescapable applause for Trujillo, an extra dose of irony is provided by the fact that the only two Spanish immigrants assassinated by the régime (after they had left the country) were Jesús de Galíndez, who had been a high ranking civil servant under the dictator as well as an informer for the FBI, and José Almoina, who had been Trujillo's private secretary.

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Memoirs of Bernardo Vega: a contribution to the history of the Puerto Rican community in New York. CÉSAR ANDREÚ-IGLESIAS (ed.). Translated by JUAN FLORES. New York and London: Monthly Review, 1984. xix + 243 pp. (Paper US\$ 10.00, £ 7.70)

The original version of this enlightened testimony was published in Spanish by Ediciones Huracán in 1977 after the premature death of the editor, writer, and political activist, and twelve years after the death of Bernardo Vega, the protagonist. Editor Andreú-Iglesias acknowledges "with Puerto Rican gratitude" the support of the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, then part of CUNY now at Hunter College, which allowed him to prepare the original. The present edition is an excellent and most sensitive English translation by Professor Flores. The dedication and care given by several scholars, independent publishers, clerical staff, and those who knew don Bernardo personally attest to the quality of a life committed to both a patriotic feeling and a constant internationalist praxis while in Puerto Rico, in the many years of emigration in New York and upon his return to Puerto Rico where he became an essential figure in the "new independence struggle."

The book includes the aforementioned acknowledgements, contains a note by the translator which contextualizes this new edition, an excellent translator's preface, the introduction by the editor, and Bernardo Vega's narrative. We sorely missed the preliminary words by José Luis González which appeared in the Spanish original. The organization of the testimony is improved by using titles which head six sections: The Emigrant Life; Historical Background; After 1898; The 1920s; The Depression Years; and The Mid-century. There is a useful index of names and six pages of photographs which illustrate working conditions, emigrations, and early Spanish publications in New York, and include four photographs of Vega. Monthly Review Press deserves recognition for making this memoir available in English. The book is essential for the study of labor emigration, Caribbean history, racial and ethnic relations, and Third World liberation movements. Vega's contribution goes beyond telling the story of a Puerto Rican migrant by connecting social and political issues of the

time to world events and to a specific experience. It is a good example of how this type of narrative, seemingly an individual or subjective experience, is able to express a coherent collective process.

Even though Vega's narrative ends in the wake of Puerto Rican mass migration to the United States, his detailed account is possibly the most complete available, for it includes the formative decades of a slowly growing Latin American and Iberian diaspora. Working class or people's historians, and social scientists concerned with ethnic and class struggles must refer to this biography of a tobacco worker if interested in obtaining an inside view of U.S.-Caribbean contacts. But it has another important aspect: the use of the fictional form which allows a rare glimpse at the gestation of conspiracy and rebellion in New York from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. The conflicts generated by the creole bourgeoisie to thwart radicalization are well illustrated.

The fictionalized form which Vega uses permits the recreation of a period which preceded his arrival in New York. Even though this form could lead many astray, it enriches the book. Vega's ability to incorporate the events that determine his life trajectory provides us with the historical context. Bernardo Vega, with the collaboration of Andreú-Iglesias, produces a unique synthesis. Nevertheless, the question of how much we owe this stylistic synthesis to Vega himself or to his editor must be raised. Vega always wanted to produce his narrative *en forma novelada* (as a novel). Andreú-Iglesias was an accomplished novelist and journalist. We have no reason to doubt don Bernardo's gifts; our conversations with him during the 1960s showed his breadth of knowledge and insightful lucidity. Still, as readers we have the right of ascribing responsibility for errors and accomplishments in any work of this nature. We hope the custodians of the original manuscripts will save for posterity and scholarship the papers which will eventually answer these questions.

In 1916 Vega was 31 years old. He starts his boat journey to the "Iron Babel" which will keep him there thirty years. The memoir ends in 1947. His work can be placed along the important Puerto Rican testimonials, such as Alonso Ramírez, *Los Infortunios* (1690); Eugenio María de Hostos, *Diario Intimo* (1939); Tapia y Rivera, *Mis Memorias* (1927); Jesús Colón, *A Puerto Rican in New York and other sketches* (1975), and Sidney W. Mintz, *Worker in the Cane* (1960). The present edition will undoubtedly make available to English speaking readers, migrant Puerto Ricans included, Vega's extraordinary personal experience clearly placed in the context of his time.

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History of the Puerto Rican independence movement: 20th century.
HAROLD J. LIDIN. Maplewood NJ: Waterfront Press, 1983. 250 pp.
(Cloth US\$ 18.95, Paper US\$ 10.00)

Harold Lidin, a seasoned journalist from *The San Juan Star*, has written a new book on an old and elusive topic: the Puerto Rican independence movement. In this first of three volumes (which was originally published in Puerto Rico in 1981), Lidin makes a feeble attempt to examine "independentismo" in the nineteenth century. Basically, he reports information on some of the incidents, struggles, and revolts, and consequently the accompanying repressive measures taken by the State to curb the unrest.

Some of the most prominent "independentistas" such as Ramón E. Betances and Segundo Ruiz Belvis are mentioned, and some revolts such as "El Grito de Lares" (1868) and "La Intentona de Yauco" (1897) are described. Although Lidin's descriptive writing proves to be entertaining, his linear analysis falls short and adds very little to what has already been said on the subject.

With this book, Lidin joins the ranks of all the other writers who have unsuccessfully treated this complex topic. Year after year, the main questions on "independentismo" remain unanswered and the movement continues its long trek of frustrations, defeats, and even absurdities.

If Lidin plans to continue writing on this topic, he should study the social base and the causes of "independentismo" in Puerto Rico. And he will need to consider the reasons why this movement has been traditionally distant from the popular classes and why the masses have viewed the pro-independence groups as cumbersome.

It is a fact that Spanish colonialism up to 1898 and United States' colonialism since 1898 have manipulated conditions and circumstances to achieve the necessary adhesion to their rule from the popular classes. Moreover, it is also true that many "independentistas" have been repeatedly persecuted; but this alone cannot explain the continuous failures of the pro-independence groups. To analyze this reality we must first understand its complexity. For example, both "inde-

pendentismo" and "nacionalismo" have long lacked deep social commitments. While the leaders of these causes have been full-blooded patriots, some thus reaching heroic heights, the popular classes have looked for leadership among others who, genuinely or not, have shown more concern for their daily struggles, grievances, misfortunes, and rejoicings.

I have just mentioned some of the many points that must be addressed if the independence movement in Puerto Rico is going to be fully understood. Otherwise, we will continue to recall as important the patriots' names, the shots fired, the revolts, and the people jailed, maimed or killed by the repressive forces...

The people of Puerto Rico have built a rich culture that has tenaciously resisted many difficulties and obstacles. At the same time, and backed by important metropolitan interests, the devotees of the money, language, mores, and lifestyles of the metropolis have led an increasingly strong movement toward inching their way to a complete absorption of Puerto Rico by the United States. The question is whether they will succeed or the popular classes in Puerto Rico will deal effectively with the obvious contradictions involved and eventually move toward building an independent country.

If Lidin decides to go ahead with his plan of writing two more books on this subject, he should encompass a more profound critical analysis of a topic that is ever present in the Puerto Rican reality.

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Las caretas de cartón del Carnaval de Ponce. TEODORO VIDAL. San Juan: Ediciones Alba, 1983. 107 pp. (Cloth US\$ 24.95)

This is a charming, well written book – a rarity because of its style, which dispenses with academic (theoretical) pretensions and goes straight to the heart of the matter. As the title implies, it is a book about masks; as such it is of universal interest for any student of ritual behavior and, more specifically, the festival of carnival. From this perspective, Vidal's book furnishes much data that would allow for a comparison with the same custom in other places where carnival is important, such as Rio de Janeiro and elsewhere. And here the use of

photographic essays surrounded by clear explanatory prose is particularly effective. The masks and costumes are described; the *vejigante* mask is studied in detail; there is careful treatment of the materials, tools, and techniques used to make the masks; and a sociological profile of the artist is provided. All of this allows the reader who has never visited Puerto Rico to have a clear idea of its very old carnival tradition.

For me, it was a fascinating voyage, for I could compare masks made in Rio de Janeiro (see DaMatta 1981), which also emphasize the Devil as well as the dark and somber aspects of the other world. But in Brazil, just as in Puerto Rico, the Devil is also invited for carnival, so that during the days of feast and ritual, you can find women and children enjoying themselves with Evil, just as Vidal describes in his book. There is a tradition, scarily present in all these carnivals, though in Brazil (e.g., in Rio de Janeiro) I believe there is the greatest variety of different traditions included.

In Ponce, carnival seems to concentrate on the *caretas* and on the ambiguous figure of the *vejigante* who, representing the Devil, Death, Pain, and Evil in general, is in a sense domesticated during the ritual, becoming compatible with the simplest and frailest of mortals (including women and children).

If Vidal had wanted to venture into a broader comparative context, he could have extended his research to Portuguese-speaking areas. The Brazilian case would have provided especially rich materials; the general features of the society would have been ideally suited for a comparative study that would have broadened the interest of this book from a sociological perspective. But we must not ask for more than the author set out to give. I only mention the comparative aspect because it is implicitly raised by Vidal in the first chapter, which describes the antiquity of the masks. Here, he could have roamed in space as well as in time to explore the materials for a comparative sociology of the masks.

In Puerto Rico, as in Brazil and many other places, the *caretas* enlarge the head and transform the face. They dress up the wearers in a way that gives them a kind of power and authority that they are systematically denied in the real world. From one perspective, then, they effect a remarkable inversion. At the same time, however, they present the Devil, with his horns and his power, as a seductive force in a festival called carnival, and this allows the world to be seen as funny, sensual, and utopic. Let us hope that Teodoro Vidal will continue his study of this fascinating subject in a second book that explores the material from a more sociological point of view.

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Esclavos negros en Cartagena y sus aportes léxicos. NICOLÁS DEL CASTILLO MATHIEU. Bogotá: Institute Caro y Cuervo, 1982. xvii + 247 pp. (Paper US\$ 6.00)

The historical and linguistic research presented in this book is introduced through an illuminating prologue written by the Spanish Afro-Americanist Germán de Granda. De Granda, whose books and articles constitute one of the broadest and most thorough explorations of the contemporary Afro-American Hispanic cultural world, has studied the secular presence of blacks in Hispanic America and their contributions, both expressive and lexicological, to the Spanish spoken along the Atlantic coast. De Granda justly recognizes the undeniable value of the book by Del Castillo Mathieu, both because of its treatment of the history of the former black trade in the Caribbean (which in time would add considerably, in both human and social terms, to the population of Cartagena de Indias), and because of the lexicological imprint that the African black presence was to leave on the Hispanic-Colombian vernacular on the Caribbean coast.

The book consists of two well defined parts. The first one is of historiographic interest and offers a careful study of the importation of blacks to Cartagena during the past centuries. The second part, which is basically linguistic, deals with the diachronic and synchronic consideration of the African-derived lexicological element that has influenced Cartagenian vocabulary, especially in the forms of colloquial expression that are used within the community. Each of these two parts ends with a bibliographical list (pp. 148-56, 227-33) that testifies to the broad and careful use of written sources which provided the basis for the author's work. The second part of the book is based also on the oral testimony of numerous informants, whose names are listed on p. 225.

The complete contents of the first part, "Cartagena, port for the slave trade," was previously published as the second part of Del Castillo's earlier book, *La llave de las Indias*, which won the 1981 Eduardo

Santos prize. It was included in this new publication for the purpose, explains Del Castillo, of contributing "an indispensable historical basis to substantiate the lexicological analysis – unpublished – that forms the second part of this book."

Because the history of the slave trade in the Caribbean in general, and Colombia in particular, has been studied so extensively by earlier researchers from Europe and the Americas, the specifically linguistic material in the second part ("Afronegrismos in Cartagenian speech") eclipses in importance the historical material in the first part. In his introduction to this part, the author explores the interesting question of the early slaves' African origins, and he specifies particular tribal origins for importations of forced labor during each of five historical periods: 1533–1580, 1580–1640, 1640–1703, 1703–1740, and 1740–1811. Among others, he is able to trace groups which he refers to as Yolofoes, Sereres, Fulas, Biafadas, Banyunes, Casanges, Congos, Angolos, Carabalies, Araras, Minas, Popos, and others who belonged to linguistic families and sub-families of Sudanese Africa north of the equator and Bantu Africa south of the equator. In examining the slaves' African proveniences, Del Castillo has made good use of the available resources, including classic studies by the Mexican Aguirre Beltrán and the Spaniard Germán de Granda. It is surprising, however, not to find in his bibliographies any mention of the work of Melville J. Herskovits, who had such an interest in the matter, nor of several studies of specifically Afro-Colombian interest (including treatment of African geographical origins) by Del Castillo's countryman José Rafael Arboleda.

The linguistic Afronegrismos are organized in sections dealing with vegetables, animals, food and drink, domestic items, the human body, magic and power, and other miscellaneous items. This classification facilitates consultation of the material and enhances its usefulness; it also allows readers to assess the quantitative contribution of blacks to the vocabulary of Colombian Spanish for different areas of interest. Viewed within the context of linguistic studies of Afro-America (which are still scantier than one would like for Latin American countries as a whole), this compilation of words from a black tradition in the Hispanic New World forms one of the most valuable contributions of this book, adding many words that do not appear in earlier studies and confirming the presence in Colombia of many words that are known from other territories of the Spanish-speaking Caribbean.

Del Castillo's collection of words of African origin, based on an insider's knowledge of the material, is a significant improvement, in

terms of scientific validity, over the earlier list by Megenney on the sub-Saharan element in coastal Colombian speech. It was disappointing not to find, among the books consulted by the author, the classical work of the Cuban Fernando Ortiz, *Glosario de Afronegrismos*, which constitutes a compulsory point of departure.

In spite of some flaws, which are of only minor importance in the total work, this book is an important and useful manual on the historical presence of blacks in Colombia and of their contribution to the country's vocabulary. It certainly deserves to be read seriously by anyone who studies blacks in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean.

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The church in Barbados in the seventeenth century. P.F. CAMPBELL. Garrison, Barbados; Barbados Museum and Historical Society, 1982. 188 pp. (Paper US\$ 10.00, £ 6.00)

Ecclesiastical history has been comparatively neglected by writers on the Anglophone Caribbean, in spite of some important contributions such as those by Turner (1982) and Davis (1983), and that of the early period has largely remained a blank. Older works such as those of Caldecott (1898), Ellis (1913) and Reece & Clark-Hunt (n.d., c. 1927) have little to say about the years before the nineteenth century and are not always reliable. On the other hand, a recent scholarly book like that by Puckrein (1984), which is avowedly a social as well as political history of seventeenth-century Barbados, makes no more than passing reference to the established Church as an institution, or to religion in general.

Campbell goes a long way to remedy this neglect, at least insofar as it concerns Barbados. After providing a lucid description of religious affairs and their relation to politics in England to the end of the seventeenth century, he goes on to discuss the origin of the parochial system in Barbados, which was complete by the middle of the century. The early colonists thus provided themselves with the framework of an established church similar in some respects to that which they had known in England. Religious differences between Anglican High Churchmen and Puritans echoed those in England, but were perhaps

less disruptive, in spite of the well-known uproar caused in 1652 by the Rev. Charles Robson's refusal to give up the use of the Book of Common Prayer as was demanded by the Commonwealth authorities. There is a general paucity of evidence, but by skillful use of what can be discovered about individual incumbents and clerical appointments in the period Campbell is able to show that both Anglican and Puritan ministers were able to retain their parishes during the troubled middle years of the century. And further confirmation that the Barbadian authorities were more easy-going than those in England is provided by the case of the Rev. Christopher Amgell, a Presbyterian who was ejected from his English benefice in 1662 for refusing to accept the Act of Uniformity, but who died in 1669 as minister of St. George's parish in Barbados. It was to be expected that persons not in episcopal orders would be appointed as clergymen during the Commonwealth, but in Barbados this continued after the Restoration, and "It was this generation which came under attack from the Quakers." Campbell pays particular attention to the problems that the Church in Barbados faced as a consequence of being an episcopal church without a bishop, a situation which was to some extent alleviated by the active concern of Henry Compton (Bishop of London 1675-1713), who secured for himself and his successors a degree of authority over the Church in the colonies. The quality of the Barbadian clergy and the position of the Church in the island began to improve:

After 1681 all ministers of parishes were ordained clergymen of the Church of England licensed by the Bishop of London, and most of them were university graduates. In the last twenty years of the century the Church regained its prestige, and most of those who had deserted it returned to its fold. As the Church gained in strength, the membership of the Nonconformist sects declined, eventually almost to extinction.

Barbadian tolerance in religious matters did have its limitations, Roman Catholic priests were rigidly excluded, but the Catholic laity were not normally molested, though their numbers declined as a direct result of the Sugar Revolution, since importations of African slaves replaced those of Irish (and other) white servants. Upper-class Catholicism disappeared after the Glorious Revolution, and from the end of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth Catholicism was virtually nonexistent in the island.

Acceptance of Jews and Protestant dissenters, or, to be more precise, failure to persecute them, did not extend to the Quakers, who first arrived in Barbados in 1655 and who occupied a prominent position in

the island for the next thirty years. Their pacifism and refusal to take oaths were considered objectionable, but the main reasons for their persecution – which sometimes included physical assaults by Anglican clergy – were their criticism of what they saw as the failings of the established Church and their concern for the conversion of slaves. This last was regarded as subversive of the very foundation of Barbadian society. Campbell agrees with the Quaker complaint of the Church's indifference in this matter, but draws attention to the power which planter-dominated vestries exercised over the livelihood of the clergy as a result of the means by which they were paid – a problem which continued into the nineteenth century (Gilmore 1979: 465) – and to the fact that in the 1670s at least two of the clergy did preach in favor of the Christianization of slaves, and were persecuted as a result.

The book is based on an extremely detailed knowledge of the extensive body of seventeenth-century records preserved in Barbados itself, as well as on other sources. A lengthy appendix provides biographical information on all clergy known to have been in Barbados in the period, and will be a useful source of reference for future historians. The work as a whole is a most welcome addition to Barbadian and West Indian historical writing.

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Women and politics in Barbados 1948-1981. NEVILLE DUNCAN & KENNETH O'BRIEN. Cave Hill, Barbados: Institute of Social and Economic Research (Eastern Caribbean), Women in the Caribbean Project vol. 3, 1983. x + 68 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.00, BDS\$ 18.00)

Women and politics in Barbados 1948-1981. NEVILLE DUNCAN & publications to emerge from the Women in the Caribbean project undertaken by a group of West Indian scholars and published by the Institute of Social and Economic Research at the Barbados campus of the University of the West Indies. The primary objective, reflected here, is the generation of data concerning the role of women in various institutional settings in the English-speaking Caribbean. The present volume is somewhat of a departure from most of the rest of the series in that it is confined to the role of women in the political life of a single island - Barbados.

In reviewing the monograph we must take the authors at their word, that their objective is "to document available information about women in politics in ... Barbados." This task is substantially accomplished and the resulting documentation of female participation in local and national electoral politics, in the political parties, and on statutory boards is detailed in this report. The fact of the matter is that such a consideration makes rather thin fare for the reader and student of West Indian political life, for the participation of Barbadian women in formal political institutions has been slight. It is only in terms of voting turnout that women are well represented. In all other areas where they might be appointed or elected or have stood for office, they have been conspicuously underrepresented. Such a finding is consistent with my observations for other eastern Caribbean polities and consistent as well with the evidence of substantial gender discrimination and the chronic disadvantaging of women in West Indian society. The facile dismissal of this sorry state as a "function of development" (p. 44) does not approach the root of the problem.

The contradictions faced by women seeking or entering public life in Barbados are better exemplified in two other parts of the monograph. In an introduction, Billie Miller, the lone female Minister in the current

Barbados government, illustrates some of the confusion about the specificity of "women's issues" and feminist political consciousness. In an appendix containing an interview with Miss Hazeline Gittens, a former Parliamentary Secretary, the respondent maintains the myth of the ascendancy of individual qualities and perseverance while indicating the presence throughout her career of male condescension in a society that proscribes certain career directions for women. Finally, this volume is remiss in that there is no consideration of the role of women in the organized labor movement, a serious omission in a study of a region where trade unionism and politics have so consistently been closely related.

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Forward ever! Three years of the Grenadian Revolution. Speeches of Maurice Bishop. Sydney: Pathfinder Press, 1982. 287 pp. (Paper US\$ 6.95)

When, in 1982, the Australian branch of Pathfinder Press published the speeches of Maurice Bishop, leader of revolutionary Grenada, the text *Forward Ever* served an important purpose in providing the reading public with the thoughts of someone, and the program of a government, relatively unknown to much of the world. The publication gained added significance since the Peoples Revolutionary Government (PRG) in Grenada was under constant criticism from both the Reagan Administration and the U.S. press. Yet eighteen months later, in a brief traumatic week resulting from an internal crisis in the PRG, Bishop was murdered and scores of Grenadians were killed at the same time; a repressive group ostensibly took control of the government; the United States invaded, with more deaths and injuries, and Grenada was "liberated."

A few months after the October crisis in Grenada, the U.S. branch of Pathfinder released *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, incorporating all the speeches of the first volume, but including ten additional speeches delivered since that volume was published. It is therefore somewhat difficult to review the first collection, without acknowledgment of the later events in Grenada and without reference to the second volume.

Forward Ever covers the period from March 1979, the time of the coup, until March 1982, and includes most of Bishop's major speeches in Grenada and at international fora. The text, then, is a major source of information on the domestic program and policies, as well as the evolution of the foreign policy of the PRG under Bishop. Included, for instance, is the major foreign policy address by Bishop to the Sixth Conference of the Non-aligned Movement in Havana, September, 1979. Excluded, interestingly, is another major foreign policy statement to a rally in Managua, Nicaragua, in which Bishop provided a detailed outline of his country's position in international affairs.

An introductory section occupying one-quarter of the total material begins the text. Three selections are presented. The first, by Jim Percy, focuses upon Grenada under the PRG, with reference to the international dimensions of the Grenadian experiment, and the stresses resulting from U.S. pressure upon the revolution. The second is an interview with Bishop conducted two years after the coup in which he reflects on the past, and presents ideas for the future. The third, by Arnaldo Hutchinson, offers a historical survey of Grenada and suggests the necessity for a radical restructuring of the society. The only common factor among the three selections is that none are Bishop's speeches. In that context, Hutchinson's contribution is a more appropriate introductory statement, while Percy's could have provided a conclusion to the text.

One of the remarkable features of Bishop's speeches, at least for the first three years, is the heavy populist appeal conveyed together with an absence of ideological orientation and depth. In Bishop's speech on the morning of the coup, for instance, he emphasized: "people of Grenada, this revolution is for work, for food, for decent housing and health services and a bright future for our children." Few, undoubtedly, could find fault with this approach or emphasis. And this was to characterize most of Bishop's speeches delivered to Grenadian audiences: a concern for meeting the basic needs of the society. To the extent that ideological direction is conveyed in Bishop's speeches, it is to be found in those emphasizing the foreign policy of the state.

It is surprising that one important omission among the foreign policy speeches reproduced in the text is Bishop's first statement upon the subject, provoked by the ultimatum from U.S. Ambassador Ortiz, a mere month after the Gairy overthrow. This speech, "In Nobody's Backyard," was bold in its rejection of the hegemonic posture of the United States in the hemisphere. This direction was continued in the Havana speech delivered later in 1979 (reproduced in the text), when

Bishop clearly enunciated a position of non-alignment in Grenada's foreign policy.

There would undoubtedly be two conflicting explanations about why Bishop did not display any significant degree of ideological commitment in his public pronouncements. The first would argue that Bishop was not committed to any particular ideological position, being essentially a pragmatist; it might be willing to concede that Bishop was a democratic socialist. The second would state that Bishop was an avowed socialist but was too astute as a politician to reveal his true intentions for the society. In support of the second argument, Bishop's originally secret "Lines of March" speech, later popularized by the State Department, can be viewed as reflective of his goals for Grenada. To that extent anyone wishing to understand Bishop's thoughts would want to study his interview in the introductory portion of the text.

While this book served a very useful purpose when it was first published, it has been supplanted by the second from the same publisher, which incorporates all the speeches from the first. Any serious student of events in Grenada would want to have the second.

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The silver men: West Indian labour migration to Panama, 1850-1914.
VELMA NEWTON. Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1984. xx + 218 pp. (Paper US\$ 15.00, £ 15.00)

The first of the big Caribbean migrations took place between the various islands and Panama, as laborers traveled hundreds of miles to take high-paying jobs on the canal. Since those early population movements, migration has become a way of life in the region, and the United States has become the preferred terminus. Velma Newton's book (which began as a master's thesis at the University of the West Indies) looks at the various phases of the Panama trek, seeking the sources and long-term effects of what was a demographic tidal wave. Her work is broad in geographic scope as well as in the period covered. To achieve this breadth, she utilized a great variety of sources, including newspapers, rare secondary materials, official publications, some

archival holdings, and even personal informants. The effort paid off: Newton has produced a trustworthy, readable, and important book on a topic of concern to researchers in many fields.

The various Panama transit projects began in the mid-nineteenth century, shortly after emancipation of the slaves in the British and French West Indies. Construction managers took advantage of an increasingly mobile work force in the Caribbean. Newton shows that the picture varied from islands to island, but in general the employment opportunities for West Indians were grim. Sugar was in a slump, so an oversupply of labor existed. Thus, the companies operating in Panama could easily recruit men for their projects. These works began with the Panama Railroad, built between 1851 and 1855, increased in intensity with the French canal attempt in the 1880s, and reached a climax in the U.S. period, 1904-14. All told, several hundred thousand West Indians migrated to Panama in the years Newton covers.

The Silver Men takes its title from the U.S. canal administrators' designation for West Indian and Latin laborers, who were at first paid in silver coin and listed on the silver payroll. U.S. employees, in turn, received wages in gold and very generous fringe benefits. In a word, silver labor was cheaper than gold, just as the value of silver was falling in relation to that of gold. Silver also became a euphemism for black and mestizo, so that the gold and silver rolls were used to segregate the races just as efficiently as Jim Crow laws did in the U.S. South. Thus, the term *silver* carried a heavy burden of racism, discrimination, and labor exploitation for those who lived under it. Newton's research in Panama allowed her to write authoritatively on this aspect of the story. She also touches lightly on the later generations of West Indians who stayed in Panama, people who became a racial and ethnic minority.

Newton clearly sympathizes with the emigrants, whose individual actions accumulated into a mass solution for the problems of the islands. The islands simply could not hold their burgeoning populations, so the able-bodied had to emigrate to save those who stayed behind. Remittances of money and returned savings (called Panama money in the islands) kept family members alive and local economies afloat. Selective emigration reinforced the matrilineal family structure of the British islands and led to serial union marriage patterns. In the end, Newton sees emigration as necessary and in some ways beneficial, despite the hardships and exploitation experienced by most who went to work in Panama.

Persons in the fields of migration studies, demography, economic history, ethnography, race relations, and black history will all wish to

read this book. The information is dense yet well-organized. The book will become part of the core of essential readings on modern Caribbean history.

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Christmas sports in St. Kitts-Nevis: our neglected cultural tradition.
FRANK L. MILLS & S.B. JONES-HENDRICKSON, with lessons by BERTRAM EUGENE. Frederiksted VI: Eastern Caribbean Institute, 1984. iv + 66 pp. (Paper US\$ 6.00 plus \$1.50 postage and handling).

This book describes the traditional street plays, or "sports," that the peoples of St. Kitts and Nevis have enjoyed as part of their Christmas celebrations ever since the days of slavery. That is, until quite recently; nowadays the Bull Play, Moco-Jumbie, and a host of other colorful entertainments are on their last legs. Once seen in every neighborhood, they have become increasingly rare; many have not been performed in recent memory. This is the authors' lament. The declared aim of their publication is to help turn this situation around. Understand, then, that the book at hand does not present itself as a scholarly treatise. Rather, it stands as a work of advocacy, a popular exposition of a disappearing folk art that Mills and his co-authors hope their fellow countrymen will once more come to appreciate and support.

The book consists of three parts. The first, an introductory essay by Mills and Jones-Hendrickson, situates the Christmas sports squarely within the culture of the islands' working class. The essay sketches a few of the plays though it mentions many others. The greatest detail is accorded to Niega Business, described as one of the first set of sports (as late as the 1950s) to mark the arrival of the Christmas season. In the plays of Niega Business, the authors find especially vivid examples of what they see as one of the chief functions of sports in general, namely, the lampooning of society's elites.

The second part of the book draws attention to the syncretic nature of Christmas sports. Here English, Irish, and Scottish influences receive acknowledgment, if just barely. Certainly the brevity of this section (less than six pages) precludes anything even approaching adequate examination of the cultural blend the plays represent. Never-

theless, the authors do choose to discuss the St. Kitts-Nevis "Mummies" play, and given this example it is difficult to excuse their failure to identify it as a surviving version of the ancient mummer play once common to much of Western Europe.

The "lessons" collected by Eugene conclude the book. These are the plays' scripts, in some cases the dialogue accompanied by a description of the action, in other cases simply an account of costumes and actions. The sports recounted are The Bull Play, David and Goliath, Moko-Jumbie, Masquerade, Clowns and Indians, Actors, and Mummies. This is perhaps the most valuable section of the book, and it is here one regrets most the absence of rich description.

This does not mean that historians and social scientists will fail to appreciate the book. It may not be written for their benefit, but inasmuch as the work documents even part of an otherwise undocumented tradition, it merits considerable applause. Part of that applause ought to be in recognition of the fact that here we have two scholars and a journalist providing an example to the public at large of what needs to be done in nearly every corner of the West Indies. Whether or not they succeed in reviving interest in the performance of their country's Christmas sports, it may be hoped that this unpretentious little book will inspire others throughout the region to record before it is entirely too late their similarly neglected cultural traditions.

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Women and the ancestors: Black Carib kinship and ritual. VIRGINIA KERNS. Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press, 1983. xv + 229 pp. (Cloth US\$ 19.95)

The scope of this book encompasses more than its title or subtitle would suggest. Kerns presents an expansive vision of life among these Afro-Indian maroons in eleven widely ranging but tightly focused chapters reminiscent of a monograph style which flourished when description and documentation were esteemed for their own sake. Beginning from a broad view which summarizes the history of the Garifuna, or as Kerns prefers, the Black Caribs, *Women and the Ancestors* includes a brief background of Belize (formerly British

Honduras), descriptions of village life, the everyday routine, and an overview of such relevant aspects of social organization as patterns of inheritance, conflict resolution, and exchange.¹ Kerns tightens her focus to spotlight the systematic relationships among sex roles, domestic organization and kinship, ritual activity, and the special status and contribution of older women.

Although this study clearly proceeds beyond "mere" ethnography, it shares many of the strengths and weaknesses associated with more purely descriptive works. The authentic ambiance must be counted among the strengths of this book. Having conducted field research near Kerns' site of "La Playa," I can attest to the fidelity of the texture of Kerns' portrayal of Belizean Garifuna life. In addition, the generalist and empirical emphases make this book particularly suitable for classroom use. Theoretical considerations neither overshadow nor interrupt the flow of Kerns' clear and accessible narrative style, yet much pertinent analysis on topics – such as sex roles, aging, and West Indian family structure – informs the discussion appropriately and unobtrusively.

The holism characteristic of "classic" ethnography pervades this book, illuminating connections among child fosterage, ancestor worship, older women, and the division of labor so that orderly relationships among elements of the social structure emerge naturally throughout the discussion. Moreover, *Women and the Ancestors* is the first generally available published monograph on Garifuna in Belize since Douglas Taylor (1951). Following this prolonged hiatus, Kerns' summary and overview sections become even more valuable, even more welcome updates. Yet the question of amending the ethnographic record brings forward a typical weakness of such monographs, namely a sense of timelessness often conveyed by the use of the ethnographic present.

The treatment of time and the impact of the passage of time are probably among the least persuasive portions of the book (Fabian 1983: 43, 80–87). The timelessness of the study exists partly as an artifact of Kerns' 1975–1976 data base. Unfortunately these data receive no updating at all, but such a gap between fieldwork and publication, while lamentable, intervenes often enough. Nevertheless, certain points of fact no longer obtain; others are simply omitted. Possibly irrelevant to Kerns' analysis, but nonetheless jarring, Belize's 1981 independence goes unmentioned. Also as of 1981, electricity had arrived in some parts of "La Playa" despite assertions to the contrary (p. 64).

Certain other aspects of the lack of temporality cannot be dismissed as easily, nor do they result directly from the dates of the fieldwork. Most important is the limited attention given to the changing participation of men and women in ritual activity. Kerns indicates that as male participation has declined, women have become increasingly prominent as direct participants and as ritual specialists or shamans (pp. 186, 187). Although Kerns concedes in a footnote that others have remarked on the preeminence of male shamans (p. 196, fn. 13), she simply observes that "at present, the practicing shamans are women" (p. 187). In a study focusing on sex roles and ritual, such changes over time beg for a more sustained treatment than Kerns gives them.

I must also take exception to Kerns' characterization of the Garifuna image of their own past. I cannot account for Kerns' curious statement "A peculiar collective amnesia has erased most memory of their past, of the harsh events that led to their ancestor's exile from St. Vincent" (p. 19). These "harsh events" are well remembered and commemorated annually in Garifuna Settlement Day celebrations of the exploits of Chatoyer, an important Garifuna culture hero.² Moreover, Kerns' characterization of the central role of women in Settlement Day may be a wishful overextension of her argument originally developed to explain women's "aptitude" for religious ritual (p. 188). Despite enthusiastic participation by women, I have observed equal contributions made by men in the conduct of Settlement Day and its associated activities. Similar objections could be made to Kerns' tendency to overstate women's roles in ritual while downplaying male contributions. For instance, in her discussion of the crucial part played by female organizers of rituals, Kerns employs three examples, each of which involves a male sponsor (pp. 171-79). While less obtrusive than the organizers' contributions, the financial support these men provide could be portrayed as equally significant in an alternative interpretation.

Nevertheless, Kerns' analysis of Garifuna sex roles, kinship, and ritual participation – perhaps the single strongest contribution of the book – needs little improvement. Much of Kerns' argument echoes the suggestions of several contributors to Steady's *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally*, especially the articles in the Caribbean section (1981: 417-560). Curiously, none of these articles are included in Kerns' otherwise extensive bibliography. This bibliography does, however, provide a superior and exhaustive amount of material on the Garifuna, which is valuable on its own merits.

Kerns suggests "that cross-cultural contrasts between 'women here'

and 'women there' offer less insight than the intracultural contrasts I observed: those between young women (of childbearing age) and older (postreproductive) women, and between men and young women" (p. 191). I heartily agree with Kerns assessment of the strength of her book. In addition to data on and analysis of these "intracultural contrasts," this book speaks with a voice which empathizes with the position of aging Garifuna women. In this important way Kerns offers a refreshing departure from the "classical" ethnographies mentioned earlier. Her effort to combine the analyses of age and of gender to illuminate the condition of older women must be applauded as a rare and worthy contribution.

NOTES

1. Although Kerns and others continue to use the term "Black Carib" in the literature, my informants when they expressed a preference, favored the term "Garifuna" which I have chosen to use throughout this review.
2. Settlement Day is an annual holiday commemorating the arrival of the first Garifuna settlers in Belize: it includes a general celebration of Garifuna heritage. My own research focuses on this holiday.

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Haiti: political failures, cultural successes. BRIAN WEINSTEIN & AARON SEGAL. New York: Praeger (copublished with Hoover Institution Press, Stanford), 1984. xi + 175 pp. (Cloth US\$ 25.95)

Haiti's uniqueness and historical isolation have made its study largely the domain of highly specialized academics. Authors Weinstein and Segal have rendered an important service by writing a broad introduction to Haiti that is concise, analytically descriptive, and integrative of cultural, economic, historical, and political considerations.

The authors conceive of Haiti as "two worlds." The first, that of the elite, is Catholic, French-speaking, and oriented more toward extraction and exploitation than toward production. The second, mainly composed of peasant smallholders, has a syncretic religion, speaks only Creole, and is as industrious as it is impoverished. Stemming largely from the strong national consciousness and culture of this second world is a vibrant tradition of art, literature, crafts, theater, and religion. Weinstein and Segal give that tradition the recognition and weight it deserves and rarely receives.

An important thesis of this book is that the historical bases of these two worlds' coexistence are being undermined by severe economic crises. At the root of the crises is an historical pattern of gross governmental negligence and parasitism. Weinstein and Segal contribute the concept of "government by franchise" to describe the Duvalier dynasty's version of this old pattern. In the absence of a governing ideology, party or program, the Duvaliers have granted a loosely connected and pervasive set of "franchises" to security personnel, merchants and middlemen, bureaucrats, and civil officials. Franchise holders pursue personal advantage, unrestrained in their "pirate" mentality of extraction without regard to the future. Government institutions, with the partial exceptions of the National Bank and the roads department, provide virtually no constructive services; rather, they are weakened by sinecures, corruption, and rapid turnover. Non-governmental and foreign aid sources try to fill the services gap, and the country has become increasingly dependent on those sources. With the exception of religious institutions, there is an absence of social organizations between the levels of the family and the state, thanks in large part to the government's systematic neutralization of unions, press, parties, and the army.

Weinstein and Segal argue that the structure of Haiti's political economy is being eroded along with the precious topsoil that is deforested, overworked, and inadequate to support the rapidly growing popu-

lation. Exacerbating this crisis are high indirect taxes on rural production, insecurity of land tenure, inflation, and intentional centralization of the economy (to reduce politically threatening regionalism) with only nascent assembly industry expansion to compensate for the consequent rapid urbanization. Urbanization and industrialization are bringing the "two worlds" together in new ways. One of the political economy's safety valves, emigration of ambitious young men, has been plugged. The export-oriented business elite has scant confidence in the government. The contracting resource base that must satisfy franchise-holders makes the Duvaliers increasingly dependent on foreign assistance flows. These dynamics offer some possibilities for change, especially in light of the fragile, opportunistic basis of the franchise alliances and the president's ineptitude in satisfying the middle class.

The authors point out that change is unlikely to come from coups or assassinations, in spite of the provocative nature of the dynastic "presidency-for-life." They also show that relations with foreign powers, most importantly with the United States, catalyze little change. The United States diffuse East-West and domestic preoccupations lead it to place Haitian political stability and emigration control ahead of other goals, leaving the Haitian government ample room to maneuver for its narrow and focused goals of high aid flows and internal political dominion. The authors leave Haiti's future the open question that it is, after calling attention not only to the country's uniqueness but also to the human necessity to respond rather than retreat into idle curiosity or complacent faith in the continuing vitality of such a culturally rich society.

Specialists in Haitian studies will find parts of this book unsatisfying, as the overview provided of some important subjects is necessarily limited and occasionally sacrifices too much in the name of reaching the widest possible audience. For instance, the authors do not adequately explore the potential for major external aid sources to make the Haitian government accept the participation of centrist (moderate or progressive) social groups in political life and economic development. They also underestimate and neglect the role and potential of the Catholic Church, private voluntary agencies, and cooperatives in rural political development.

On the whole, this book is a balanced and incisive *tour d'horizon*. Dr. Jean Price-Mars, the eminent Haitian intellectual to whom the

book is dedicated, would surely have appreciated Weinstein and Segal's contribution to the reading public's knowledge of Haiti.

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De Boni-oorlogen, 1757-1860: marronage en guerrilla in Oost-Suriname (The Boni wars, 1757-1860; maroons and guerrilla warfare in Eastern Suriname). W.S.M. HOOGBERGEN. *Bronnen voor de studie van Afro-amerikaanse samenlevingen in de Guyana's*, deel 11 (Sources for the Study of Afro-American Societies in the Guyanas, no. 11). Dissertation, University of Utrecht, 1985. 527 pp. (Paper Dfl. 30.00)

This massive book contains a wealth of fascinating material on the eighteenth-century Boni, by then a loose congeries of Maroon communities living scattered in the northeastern part of Suriname. They fought a guerrilla war against the planters' colony from 1757 to 1793, when they were decisively beaten. Hoogbergen is to be commended for the care and precision with which he collated his data from various archival and other sources. Another asset of his work is his attention to the intricate relationships between the Boni and the Djuka (Aukaners), a maroon tribe that concluded a peace treaty with the colony in 1760, one of the conditions of the treaty being that they would deliver to the slaveholding authorities any new fugitive they could lay their hands on (including the Boni). They did in fact do so, ...when and if it suited them. So far so good.

On the whole, however, this is not - or at least not yet - a very satisfying book. For one thing, the author is a stickler for completeness. The reader has to wade through hundreds of pages in which every single skirmish between Maroons and planters is spelled out. If the Vietnam war were to be depicted in as minute detail, its history would take, by a rough estimate, about 40 000 pages. Also, the concluding chapter is rather disappointing. Instead of presenting a systematic picture of what guerrilla warfare, with all its attendant insecurities, did to Boni society, it is, at least partly, a rather lame discussion of contemporary Boni society, based largely on Hurault's works of 1961 and later. (After having been defeated in 1793 the Boni settled in the deep interior, on the border of French Guiana and Suriname where most of their descendants still live today.)

This reviewer very much hopes that the writer would rework his extensive materials into a more coherent book of, say, 250–300 pages. This then, because of the intrinsic value of its data, should forthwith be translated into English.

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Aid and dependence: the case of Suriname, a study in bilateral aid relations BAIJAH MHANGO. Paramaribo: SWI, Foundation in the Arts and Sciences, 1984. xiv + 171 pp. (Paper n.p.)

Balans van een coup: drie jaar 'surinaamse revolutie.' SANDEW HIRA. Rotterdam: Futile (Blok & Flohr), 1983. 175 pp. (Paper US\$ 8.50, Dfl. 18.50)

We are sometimes trapped by our critical instincts, unable to conceive of things being any worse than in the situation we have just dissected. Baijah Mhango, Chairman of the Department of Economics at the Anton de Kom University of Suriname, painstakingly lays out the failures of the Dutch-Surinamese aid and development programs between 1975 and 1982 with little interest in understanding how they were reached, or whether and how any alternatives might come out better. There is little new here, however, as the program's principal concentration on West Suriname bauxite and infrastructural development – so visionary at the time of independence (just a year after formation of the bauxite cartel and two years after OPEC's apparent rearrangement of the international economy) – had been recognized as a terrible mistake even before the military seized power in 1980. His criterion that aid facilitate self-sufficient and/or well-diversified economic growth is well-taken, although he never takes into account the economies-of-scale problem for Suriname's small market. He makes an equal error of

scale, alleging that the economic imperialism underlying Dutch aid programs was fueled by their manufacturers somehow needing the dependent Surinamese market for their products (p. 102).

Mhango is curiously indignant at the cut-off of Dutch aid in December 1982, following the government execution of fifteen of its prominent critics. The military's cancellation of the West Suriname project and reprioritization of the other development projects had just gotten things on the right track, he feels, when Dutch "exasperation at the independent line Suriname had been taking since 1980" led to the cut-off, using the deaths as a pretext (p. 148).

His cost-accounting is also a little curious. A quick calculation of his data for Suriname's government current account and savings between 1976 and 1982 (pp. 115-16) shows a healthy net surplus for the years of civilian government and a steadily mounting deficit under the military. Short-term benefits may have been achieved by the reoriented aid disbursements, but military expenditures had obviously begun to throw the economy out of kilter even before aid was suspended. Dependence may now be diversified in Suriname (through debt), even if the economy is not.

Sandew Hira's collection of articles, written over a three-year period from early 1980 to just after the executions presents a novel perspective on Suriname's recent developments – a consistent critique from the far left. Hira, *nom de plume* of Dew Baboeram, himself the brother of one of the murder victims, appears to have spent most of this period in The Netherlands, home to roughly one-third of Suriname's population. Part of the puzzle for the reader is trying to guess for whom these pieces were written, and why. Hira's interest cannot simply be to keep an ideological scorecard on the revolution. Yet his analysis is hardly couched in the terms of constructive criticism.

He sees Badrissein Sital and Charles Mijns, the original union organizers among the noncommissioned officers, as the true visionary radicals in whose hands the 1980 revolution might have amounted to something. Unfortunately, they neither made the revolution nor could get control over it. As to the need, *per se*, for a revolution, Hira, like Mhango, sees independence as having landed a privileged "kompradore-bourgeoisie" in power – one that hogged the benefits of Suriname's dependency on The Netherlands while maintaining its power through ethnic fragmentation and electoral fraud.

Hira accepts the widely circulated, but self-serving, argument that the coup was a year in the planning by Sgt. Maj. Desi Bouterse, with the assistance of old-time civilian radicals Frank Leeftang and Eddy

Bruma, as well as radio-station-owner Andre Kamperveen, another of the murder victims in 1982. In the first month after the coup, Bouterse's clique rejected the guidance proffered it by Rubin Lie Paw Sam, leader of the Communist *Volkspartij*, and Hira's apparent *guru*. In the first, and longest, essay in the collection, Hira recounts these events and lays out the differences between Lie Paw Sam's "ideal" program and that of the "new" national bourgeoisie installed by Bouterse. The rest of the articles are mostly short, column-length, critiques of the Bouterse policies, including its several violations of basic human rights. While Grenada was not free from similar abuses, its achievements, Hira writes, formed "an attractive contrast" with those in Suriname (p. 99). But the parallel is instructive, as cracks occurred in the leadership of both revolutions. In Suriname, however, Bouterse came out on top each time, and this clearly infuriates Hira. Defectors from the radical military union group or from the *Volkspartij* are variously referred to as "fascists," "Stalinists," and "ass-licking opportunists." Popular mobilization of the poor, in the Cuban, Nicaraguan, or Grenadian manner, is seen as intellectually bankrupt in the Surinamese case – just a new way to carry on the patronage politics of the old regime.

Why, then, should the CIA allegedly stick its nose into a situation so seemingly "under control?" Hira cannot deny some pleasure in seeing the regime's radical foreign-policy pronouncements. Thus, he unquestioningly accepts Bouterse's claim, in the fall of 1982, that the CIA was sponsoring union and other protest demonstrations to destabilize his government. But Bouterse's retaliation by murdering the leaders of these groups was not so acceptable. Hira's distance from these events may have made it easier for him to fashion a logically consistent position. His self-righteousness and single-minded commitment to extreme reform makes one wonder, however, if Suriname would have had to suffer an even more wrenching experience with him and Lie Paw Sam holding the reigns of power.

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Dictionary of Bahamian English. JOHN A. HOLM with ALISON WATT SHILLING. New York: Lexik House Publishers, 1982. xxxix + 228 pp. (Cloth U.S.\$ 42.00)

The foreword to the *Dictionary of Bahamian English* comments on the intricate nature of the lexicon of Caribbean English and on the importance of in-depth studies of specific geo-political areas for piecing together the lexical experience of the Anglophone Caribbean. To perform the task adequately, a number of issues of specific relevance to the Caribbean area must be resolved.

There is the question of the geographic areas to be covered – an important consideration, for even within the smallest island states vital sources of information, especially etymological information, are often locked away in relatively inaccessible areas. These sources may be ignored at the risk of making the dictionary less accurate, less authentic, and less useful for comparative work.

The amount of socio-cultural information to be included must also be considered. The deliberate omission of such information can turn the best dictionary into a mere word list, while the unsystematic use of such data as “happens” to be collected may give the dictionary an unevenness which will ultimately do more harm than good.

The extent to which comparisons and contrasts with other Caribbean territories will be made in the actual work also needs very careful consideration, since the resource material ranges very widely, quantitatively and qualitatively, from territory to territory.

Oral traditions (prose narrative, myths, legends, proverbs etc.) must be given high priority ranking in the choice of source material because the lexicographer is here dealing with a culture that is almost entirely unwritten.

There are other linguistic considerations as well, such as the nature of the phonetic and phonemic information to be recorded, in particular suprasegmental features. Often a feature such as vowel lengthening may have much semantic significance in Caribbean English.

An accurate interpretation of the historical background is also vital to satisfactory lexical accounting, and the possibility of multiple etymologies must be recognized.

On some of these issues traditional lexicography can offer little guidance. Yet the extent to which a dictionary of English in the Caribbean answers these questions will be vital to its usefulness.

Holm's *Dictionary of Bahamian English*, produced in association with Shilling, is only the third major attempt to address such questions for the territories of the English-speaking Caribbean – Cassidy and Le Page's 1967 *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (D.J.E.) and the yet unpublished *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (D.C.E.U.) being the other two. Work on a fourth, on Trinidadian English, is also in progress.

This work provides an excellent opportunity to address some of these issues. It documents lexical items in a commonwealth that is both physically and socio-historically fragmented. These characteristics should provide many insights into lexicography in an even more fundamentally fragmented Anglophone Caribbean.

D.B.E. resolves the problem of geographic coverage by restricting itself to the more accessible islands of the chain, and at the same time, selecting so judiciously among them that it manages to remain representative of the chain.

The introduction provides an adequate summary of those aspects of the history of the Bahamian chain that Holm and Shilling assess as being significant. There are, however, a few major weaknesses in what is an otherwise satisfactory introductory section.

The first of these is the rather unbalanced, and even conflicting, account of the creolization process. Holm presents (p. iii) one of the theories of origin with a finality that it does not have. Indeed, simplification may still be considered one of the least substantiated, and perhaps most complex, explanations of creolization. This presentation creates the impression that the West African input is of little significance since simplification is viewed from the perspective of the European language only. Yet six pages later a list of very significant syntactic influences of West African origin are acknowledged without further explanation.

The second weakness cannot properly be attributed to Holm and Shilling. It is the direct result of the unavailability of information on so many of the territories of the region. There is for Jamaica the very authoritative D.J.E. but there is no equivalent for any other territory of the region. D.B.E. therefore relies on very uneven sources for its information on the wider Caribbean. This shortcoming could be compensated for by personal familiarity with the other territories of the region. But this is clearly lacking and the work is the weaker without it.

The introduction offers, for instance, Parsons' 1923 list of nine items as support for the argument for a direct Bahamian-Gullah connection. It gives no further comment. But seven of these items have wide currency in the southern Caribbean where there is little historical support, if any, for a direct Gullah link.

There are other popular, but inaccurate historical assumptions as well. The notion of large plantations (p. iv) is misleading to a twentieth-century mind. The suggestion that outright piracy was widespread in the Anglophone Caribbean is perhaps valid only for the northern half of it.

D.B.E. relies heavily on the D.J.E. for its lexicographic principles and these are for the most part adequate to the task. However, the work does not appear to have made conscious use of oral traditions, as a source of information. This is even more crucial since one is here dealing with a sub-culture that is essentially non-writing oriented.

The fifteen thousand entries are, in the main, satisfactorily treated within the parameters set. It is a pity that sociocultural information was not deliberately documented since much of the potential for comparative work lies in this area and any persons working in the remainder of the region will feel its absence.

In the southern Caribbean a '*cat boil*' is not merely a boil but one which results from reclaiming as one's own something which has been given to another person, i.e. "to give and take back."

Indeed, it is precisely in those areas where it counts, flora and fauna for instance, that one gets the impression of "rush." There is significant enough botanical documentation to render such entries as the following very unfortunate.

- i. blossom a particular plant (sp?) with yellow flower.
- ii. big pussly n. a succulent plant (sp?) which grows near the sea.
- iii. Cocoa peas n. Obs? an unidentified variety of peas or bean.

There are other instances of such weakness as well. To "*hack*" is not merely to "drive an unlicensed vehicle as a taxi," but to "drive a vehicle licensed for private use as a taxi." "An unbaked confection of sweetened coconut" does not adequately characterize the "*coconut cake*" (sugar-cake in the southern Caribbean); at any rate there is a process of cooking involved. The use of the term "*draw hand*" to mean collecting an *assue* is not indicated at all. "*Bad belly*" is not merely an "upset stomach"; it is in fact "diarrhea," "looseness of the bowels." "*Hominy*" is a staple in some islands and not merely "a side dish." "*A company*" need not be a case of "reanalysis as 'indefinite article + n'"; it may simply be a case of loss of initial vowels. In Guyana, at least, the word "company" is used to mean "friend" or "associates." Such weaknesses conspire to give the work a rushed appearance – a signal, perhaps, that lexicography cannot be done in a hurry.

Any list of this size is a monumental undertaking in what was previously entirely uncharted ground. The limitations noted must therefore be read in this context. To do otherwise would be to underva-

lue a work which will prove to be a substantial base for the furtherance of lexicography in the Anglophone Caribbean.

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COMMENTARY

A REPLY FROM WILLIAMS CONNELL

I am writing in reply to Anthony Maingot's review of Sutton's *Forged from the Love of Liberty* (NWIG 57: 89-97). Whilst it is true that Dr. Paul Sutton, of the University of Hull and editor of *Forged from the Love of Liberty*, did respond rather thoroughly to many of Dr. Maingot's inaccuracies (NWIG 58: 144-46), I am afraid he touched not at all on the issue that most concerns me, that is, the suggestion, based on not one single shred of evidence, that my father, the late Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, committed suicide.

Knowing Dr. Maingot's background, it is perhaps not surprising that he should choose to adhere to the sensational rather than to the factual. But this is hardly to his credit as a supposed academician.

There is, of course, one other possibility, and that is that Dr. Maingot has got privy to some pocket of information regarding my father's sudden demise which I, his daughter, am unaware of.

I fully appreciate that your journal can hardly censor the comments of its contributors, yet do I feel that the tone of Dr. Maingot's article demeans your publication and required a simple rebuttal from one who is aware of the facts but not inclined to elucidate on them.

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